Migration labour markets and development:
Inward migration to North and West Africa

WORKING PAPER
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I. Introduction

This part of the study deals with the issue of inward migration from other regions and countries to North Africa focusing on the country case studies. The main focus is on the challenges facing these countries with respect to the interaction between inward labour migration, employment and development. This second part of the study has a total of seven sections. Apart from this introduction, this section begins by providing an overview of issues in migration, followed by determinants of migration; migration policies; and challenges of migration. The second section concentrates on determinants of challenges of emigration from Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Issues discussed include: characteristics of migrants; economic factors in countries of origin; and mitigating challenges of migration.

Section three examines the role of informal employment and social protection situation on inward migration by discussing effects of informal employment and effects of social protection on migration. Section four focuses on the North and West Africa as transit zones for migrant workers from outside the region. It highlights the location and linkage of case study countries to outside world; patterns of emigration and their effects to case study countries; country policies on migration; source countries of migrants using respective countries as transit zones. Section five provides an overview of Bilateral Agreements between the North and West African countries and other African countries, while section six and seven highlights good practices on management of inward migration and policy recommendations respectively.

A. Overview of issues in migration

During the last quarter of the 20th century, new circumstances emerged that revived trans-Saharan trade and labor flow to North Africa. The development of the petroleum sector in Libya and Algeria led to pendular migration of workers, mainly West Africans and Sudanese. After encouraging the immigration of North Africans to offset chronic labor shortage, the Libyan authorities forced many of them to leave in the mid 1980s. The country then opened up to sub-Saharan in the early 1990s. The economic crisis of 1995 led to another expulsion of 200,000 workers, half of whom were Sudanese. The establishment of the Community of Saharan-Sahelian States in 1998 helped improve relations with sub-Saharan Africa (Adepoju, 2004).

Currently, the North African countries are both emigration and transit or destination points for migrants coming from Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. Substantial population flows from Africa stretch between Sub-Saharan Africa and the North and, to a more limited extent, Western Europe. They come mainly from West Africa, but also from the Sudan, the Horn of Africa and southern Africa. Most migrants leave West Africa by a variety of means, including boats, buses, taxis, trucks and even on foot. They try to reach Tamanrasset either through the Niger or through
Mali (Lahlou et al., 2002). Many try to enter Morocco before attempting to cross to Europe. These journeys can last several years and are pursued by migrants in several stages, which give them a chance to take informal jobs en route to pay for the next stages of their journey. The number of irregular migrants in Libya, counting only those from Niger, the Sudan and Mali, increased dramatically by 381 per cent between 2000 and 2003. The North African countries has responded to this situation by introducing new measures to regulate migration (Zlotnik, 2004).

Migration is generally viewed as a way of enabling the immigrants to gain economic capability through engaging in economically productive activities. International migration mirrors international trade as labor flows alter the distribution of income in sending and receiving economies alike, though international migration is smaller due to the fact that receiving country restrictions on immigration are binding thus limiting migration (Hanson, 2008). Migration patterns have changed of late. This may have been induced by continuing desertification, globalization of the economy and accelerated pauperization, with the emergence of world markets stimulating demand for both cheap and highly skilled labour (Diatta and Mbow, 1999).

Concerns have been raised on migration both by the sending and the receiving countries. For the sending countries, the concern has mainly emanated from loss of trained manpower (brain drain) to mainly developed countries, brought about by high wage differentials between developing and developed countries. As van Dalen et al. (2004) notes, it matters for both the destination and the source country how high the migration flow is, and who leaves as emigration will affect the age and sex structure of the population at large and the educational and skill composition of the labour force. Countries have advocated policy measures to reverse migration trends. It has however been realized that migration may be a win-win situation for both the sending and receiving countries given the growing importance of remittances in the sending countries.

The migrant receiving countries have also raised concerns over migration due to the increasing security threats and the global financial crises that has led to increased unemployment in the receiving countries. These have brought about challenges in migration leading to certain policies being implemented that restrict the inflow of migrants. The onset of the global economic crisis has exacerbated the challenge to migration, especially for labour migration, as the economic downturn has led to increased unemployment in countries that hitherto had high demand but inadequate supply of labour making them preferred destinations of labour migrants.

The crisis has affected the economic bedrocks of such countries affecting both the financial and production sectors. This has in turn resulted in bankruptcies and layoffs, leading to heightened competition for employment opportunities between locals and migrants. Economic difficulties abroad have resulted into labour exporting countries feeling the heat of the crisis due to reduction in remittances, increasing return migrants in certain instances and a growing level of unemployment which has increased the level on income dependence. The challenges to
migration, especially through tightened border controls, have led to migrants adopting more sophisticated and evasive methods to enter the countries of the North (Adepoju, 2002).

There has been the debate on the relationship of migration with development, focusing on whether migration stimulates or undermines economic development of both countries of origin and destination. Adepoju (2008) argues that, although the international migration is a contentious issue on the brain drain between North and South, it should be placed within broader context. There is need to focus on the economic, social and cultural benefits of migration to countries of origin and destination as well as migrants themselves. Immigrants bring their energy, determination and enterprises and can exploit economic opportunities through social organisation and the interchange of experience. The challenge is how to make migration work productively for migrants, their families and society in the countries of both origin and destination (Adepoju 2008).

One of the current issues in international migration is that some countries that were once sending countries have been turned into receivers of immigrants. North African countries, which were originally senders of emigrants to European countries, are now turned to destination countries, where immigrants can either be workers responding to an unmet demand by the local supply to the labour market, or be transit migrants en-route to other destinations.

According to Fargues and Bensaad (2007), North Africa governments view transit migrants as unwanted newcomers due to the many challenges they present to their economy, society and administrative apparatus. Among other factors, they are seen as an extra-burden that put pressure on the local labour market already confronted with unemployment among the nationals. IOM (2008) notes that most transit migrants end up working and staying in Saharan migration hubs along the way without reaching the Maghreb cities along Mediterranean and Atlantic coast. Most of these migrants who fail to enter European countries prefer to stay in North Africa. Currently, most major cities in the North African countries such as Rabat, Oran, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Benghazi harbour sizeable and increasing communities of sub-Saharan Africa citizens.

Another issue of international migration is human trafficking and smuggling. This is seen as resulting from the intensified border control and internal policing in the Mediterranean and North African countries. Other issues of concern is linking migration policies to development policies, maximizing the use of remittances, facilitating circular and temporary migration, promoting cooperation and co-development to assist reintegration, feminization of migration, the brain drain, global demand and supply of labour, migrants’ rights and working conditions (Adepoju 2008). Some of these issues are general and cut across the five case study countries, while others are country specific as discussed in this part of the study.
Migration in its many and various forms will continue to be an important element in the relations between Sub-Saharan Africa and northern Africa states as they introduce stricter border controls and rigorous measures to combat irregular migration (Bredeloup et. al, 2005). The migration into and through the North African countries are placing individual countries at the forefront in the larger cooperation between the three regional blocks of West-Africa, the Maghreb and the European Union. A large proportion of current migration dynamics is irregular as a result of the shift observed in the policy context, with increasing restrictions on legal channels, increased border controls and expulsions introduced in recent years in Europe and in Maghreb countries (Lahlou, 2003).

The policy restrictions have contributed to a number of immigrants obtaining travel documents through scams and other dubious means. Many migrants, both women and men are young adults often wrongly perceived as among the poorest. Renewed attention is needed to the feminization and more generally the gender dimension of cross-regional migration country or sector specific movements. Extreme vulnerability including deaths, illnesses and disabilities, exploitation are experienced by a number of migrants, despite little and difficult documentation. More generally, concerns are related to the generally degrading conditions of residence and work experienced by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Many of them are often faced with xenophobia, discrimination and regular assaults on their fundamental rights and entitlements (Sensenbrenner, 2006).

The North African countries covered in this study, being within proximity of Europe have attracted several citizens from other regions of Africa. The trend of intra-continental migration from Sub-Saharan Africa towards the Maghreb states has been rampant with most of the migrants coming into these countries, especially Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia en route to European countries. On arrival, they find the economic situation in these countries better than their countries of origin and therefore opt to stay (Hatton and Williamson, 2005), especially if they cannot move to Europe.

The migration trend to and through the Maghreb countries, is a trend dating back to many centuries, and remains a significant feature of African population movements. However, distance and the cost of migration have largely limited any SSA movements to the north (Alioua, 2005). This has changed rapidly since the end of 1980’s and SSA movements northwards are growing for a number of reasons, which include: the deterioration of living conditions in parts of SSA due to conflicts; political instability and desertification, against which most Maghreb countries are relatively prosperous and stable; the increasing revenue and wealth differentials between the SSA and the North; restrictive immigration policies adopted by European countries in the last decade that have compelled SSA nationals to find illegal ways of migrating and/or alternative destinations.
Algeria has become a second best option for sub-Saharan migrants coming predominantly, though not exclusively, from West Africa. Algeria just like any other North African country has witnessed enormous inward migration. These migrations in some circumstances have been a blessing to the country while in some cases it has been seen as a curse. While the inward migration from the sub-Saharan Africa and other regions to Algeria sometimes comes with high skilled manpower which is scarce, it sometimes adds to high population pressure which is a constraint on the country’s resources.

Most of the migrants into Algeria are from SSA countries, mainly from neighboring Niger and Mali. The trends of immigration into Algeria from other regions has had mixed signals since 1960 when the stock of immigrants in Algeria was about 430.4 thousand. This figure reduced drastically in 1990s to 274 and to 242.4 2005. By 2010 it is expected to be 242.3 thousand (HDR, 2009). Figure 1 shows the declining stock of migrations to Algeria since 1960. This can partly be attributed to economic hardship in the country, which might be discouraging the prospective immigrants.

Figure 1: Stock of immigrants in Algeria

Source: HDR, 2009
Overall, illegal migration continues to be a significant challenge and an issue of concern to the sending countries and a number of challenges have been observed:

- Unauthorized migrants attempting to reach Southern European shores from Algeria die of starvation, overcrowded conditions, or hypothermia while on the boat. In some cases their bodies are washed up on the shores of the Mediterranean. Stolen (blank) passports and other documents, which now plague most of the Southern European states.
- Corruption of state officials in selling semi-genuine visas and other documents, which is a frequent mechanism for illegal immigration.
- Trafficking of women and children. Although this is relatively small in size in the region, frequently involves astonishing cruelty, torture, and death for its victims and entails the complicity of numerous state officials in many countries.

Mauritania: Mauritania is a sub-Saharan African low income country with an urban population of about 3 million. Its surface area is 1,026 square kilometers. Half the population depends on agriculture and livestock for a livelihood, even though many of the nomads and subsistence farmers were forced into the cities by recurrent droughts in the 1970s and 1980s. The country has extensive deposits of iron ore, which account for nearly 40 per cent of total exports. The nation's coastal waters are among the richest fishing areas in the world, but overexploitation by foreigners due to immigration threatens this key source of revenue. According to 2008/2009 CIA fact file report, GDP per capita grew by about 3.5 per cent while the population below poverty line was about 40 per cent (Adepoju, 2005a).

In terms of migration, the stock of immigrants to Mauritania since 1960 has increased tremendously. In 1960 the stock of immigrants in thousands was 21.1 per cent. In 1990 the stock of immigrants grew almost seven times to 93.9 per cent and in 2005; the immigration figure fell to 66.1 per cent. According to projections, in 2010 it is expected to increase to 99.2 per cent (Human Development Report, 2009). This trend indicates that the number of the migrants coming to Mauritania has been on the rise (Figure 2).
The annual rate of migration growth from 1960 to 2005 was about 3.8 per cent as a share of population. In 1960 the number of immigrants accounted for 1.4 per cent of the population while in 2005 it increased to 2.2 per cent of the population. However, it is quite surprising that the proportion of female migrants to Mauritania has been significantly high. Out of the total number of immigrants in 1960 and 2005, 41.1 and 42.1 per cent comprised of the females respectively (Figure 3).
**Morocco**: The country has been noted to be a main destination of immigrants. The IMI notes that the country has evolved to be the main source of predominantly low skilled migrant labour in the EU over the second half of the 20th century. The country has an important geopolitical feature of being located right on the main global “migration frontier” between North and South. Increasing migration restrictions and border controls have affected South-North border areas, yet Morocco - EU migrations have shown remarkable persistence.

The migration corridor along Morocco has increased economic integration, mainly in the form of trade agreements and a persistent demand for low skilled migrant labour in the EU, which has continued to fuel migration. Further, under the prevailing circumstances, increasingly restrictive migration policies have paradoxically led to migration becoming irregular and permanent. The IMI concludes that in view of the strategic importance of remittances for poverty reduction and maintaining internal stability, the Moroccan government seems to have little genuine interest in stopping migration (IMI 2009).

De Haas (2009) also supports the position of IMI (2009) noting that since the 1960s, Morocco has evolved into one of the prime source countries of labour migrants to Europe, and since 1995 become a transit country for migrants and refugees from SSA. Although many of them attempt to cross to Europe, those failing or not venturing to enter Europe prefer to stay in Morocco as a second-best option, rather than returning to their unstable, unsafe, and comparatively poorer
home countries. The presence of the immigrants from SSA has confronted Moroccan society with an entirely new set of social and legal issues typical for immigration countries; issues that do not yet resonate with Morocco’s self-image as an emigration country (De Haas 2009).

Karam and Decaluwe (2009) observed that the extremely fast expansion of clandestine migration from Sub-Saharan Africa since the beginning of the 1990s was due to the fragility of the continent. The exacerbation of poverty, the shortage of natural resources, in particular water; conflicts and wars encouraged African immigrants to transit by Morocco in direction of Spain and Europe; or to settle indefinitely in Morocco in order to benefit from its stability and prosperity. They further observe that one of the more important consequences of illegal immigration into Morocco is the fact that an increasingly significant number of Sub-Saharan immigrants, scalded by the difficulties they meet on the migratory way to Europe, choose finally to stay in different Moroccan localities rather than urban areas. The authors further note that the data on Sub-Saharan immigrants to Morocco could be about 6,000 and 15,000 in numbers.

Karam and Decaluwe (2008) further observe that labour mobility takes several directions. They point out that, for instance a transitory South – South migration, from a developing country towards another, before migrating to a developed country, can coexist with internal migration from rural to urban areas, or emigration to more developed countries. The combination of these forces is able to exert unexpected effects on the labour market and Morocco typically experiences this situation. Morocco undergoes several migratory flows such as: rural and urban emigration towards the European Union, internal migration from rural to urban areas, and finally Sub-Saharan immigration to Morocco for transit towards Europe or to stay indefinitely in Morocco.

In discussing internal migration in Morocco, Karam and Decaluwe (2008) notes that climatic risks associated to agricultural production induce farmers’ migration towards the cities. These rural workers look for a stable employment in order to mitigate the fall or the great fluctuations of their agricultural income. They further note that the available estimate indicated that each year, approximately 200,000 migrants move into urban areas, which is equivalent to 40 per cent of the total increase in urban population (in Agènor and El Aynaoui (2003)).

Ben Abdeljalil (1984) also observe the striking internal population disequilibrium in Morocco with the greatest urban concentration in 2 or 3 main cities. Import substitution industrialization and capital intensive rural economy promote urban concentration and out-migration from rural areas. This pattern is reinforced by a stagnant economy and concentration of ownership of the means of production, which accelerate the rural exodus of the population. APN (1995)\(^1\) also acknowledges this position, noting that, Morocco had experienced a rise in urban population

\(^{1}\) Refer to the national surveys (Moroccan Demographic and Health Survey, the 1991 Survey on Internal Migration and 1994 CERED)
from 29.3 per cent of total population in the early 1960s to 48.4 per cent as at 1995. Rural-urban migration averaged 3.6 per cent per year and played a key role over the past 30 years.

The APN noted that migration during the 1980s was attributed to deepening economic hardship in villages. Prior to 1971, migration was to the largest cities, particularly those cities on the Casablanca-Kenitra Atlantic axis. During the 1980s, migration shifted to medium-size cities such as Marrakech, Fes, and Sale. The reasons for migration have been identified as reduced water supplies, lack of arable land or degraded land, increased population pressure, and the land tenure system that ranges from fragmented plots to concentrated farms. Rural areas had a lack of health and educational services and opportunities for educated workers. The 1982 census identified migrants' place of origin as southern and northern areas.

The study further indicates that in 1991 about 50 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women were unskilled. Only 7 per cent sent remittances to relatives in rural areas, while 70 per cent visited at least once. Further, respondents provided reasons for migration which included: search for better jobs or better wages (33%); joining family member or spouse (31%); educational reasons (11%). A total of 87.5 per cent of these migrants were under 30 years old at time of departure, while 39.5 per cent were under 15 years; 25 per cent 15-19 years; and 23.2 per cent 20-29 years old.

On gender, the survey revealed that the number of migrating women was always higher than the number of migrating men. Men tended to migrate for economic reasons, and women primarily migrated for family reasons. Most men were unmarried at the time of migration, while most women were married. A total of 79 per cent of migrating women did not have a formal education.

Morocco has an experience of rural populations increasingly earning additional income outside the traditional agricultural sector. Previously, such livelihood diversification was achieved primarily through long-distance internal migration. However, the development of numerous centrally located villages into small and medium-sized urban centers is increasingly offering non-agricultural employment within the “rural” provinces (De Haas 2003). At the regional level, numerous smaller, but rapidly growing towns have sprouted. Since the 1970s, the growth rates of small and medium-sized towns (5,000 - 50,000) have been higher than those of large cities, in particular, those with over 100,000 inhabitants, whose relative growth seems to be slowing down. The growth rate is highest in towns with 20 to 50,000 inhabitants (cf. Berraine 1996, Kagermeier 1989 as quoted in De Haas (2003; 2006).

The process of micro and meso-urbanization which has presumably been encouraged by decentralization policies and significant improvements in road and electricity infrastructure over the interior of Morocco has resulted in an increasing number of internal migrants settling not in
the big cities, but in rapidly growing smaller and medium-sized towns near to or within the rural areas. Examples of such growth poles are Nador and Al Hoceima in the north, Agadir and Tiznit in the southwest and Ouarzazate in the south.

**Senegal:** The stock of migrants to Senegal stood at 325,940 in 2005 representing 2.8 per cent Senegalese population, with women comprising 40.2 per cent of the immigrants and 6.5 per cent being refugees (World Bank, Migration and Remittances Fact Book.). The almost equal ratio of male to female immigrants, with a difference of about 10 per cent in favour of male, may be due to an increase in females migrating internationally especially professionals in African countries (Adepoju, 2002a). It is however, noted that the gender specific responsibilities reduce the flexibility and ability of women to migrate.

The stock of refugees in the Senegal in 2007 was 20,400 comprising of 9.3 per cent as a share of international immigrant stock and 0.1 per cent as a share of world refugees. There were also 2,500 asylum seekers pending cases in 2007 (HDR, 2009). According to the HDR report (2009), the annual rate of growth of immigrants in Senegal from 1960 to 2005 stood at 0.6 per cent, and was below the Africa and world average of 1.7 per cent and 1.1 per cent respectively.

**B. Determinants of migration**

Migration is driven by a number of factors, ranging from the individual and social setting, and at the national level, both from the migrant sending and receiving nations. De Haas (2006) notes that migration both internally, intra-regional and internationally has been considered as demographic and socio-economic phenomenon, which is affected by both internal and external factors. The most important among these factors is the needs of labor markets.

Other determinants of migration include, rapid population growth and labour force growth, political instability, escalation of ethnic conflicts, breakdown of government rooted in precarious democratization process, persistence economic decline, retrenchment of public sector workers in response to Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), poverty and environmental deterioration and closeness to destination countries (Adepoju, 2008). A number of studies have looked at these issues and come up with certain factors determining the decision to migrate, which include: social, economic, political, security, and geographic factors, including environmental factors.

Related to the above factors are mean income opportunities in the source and destination country and their relative income inequality. Other related factors include the distance and common borders between the countries; colonial links and common languages; immigration policies and legislation in host countries; as well as age structure of the country of origin’s population and networks. Guibilaro (1997) observes that the migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to North African countries in general have several similar characteristics, including the following:
- The migrants have adopted internal and cross-border migration as strategies to cope with ecological and economic problems. The Northern part of Africa tends to be at least economically better off than other parts of SSA and therefore migrants move there in the hope of getting better economic prospects. Movements towards areas of relative prosperity and stability, triggered by intra-regional disparities. Countries such as Algeria have been relatively stable politically and economically. Therefore, citizens from other parts of SSA like Mali and Niger find solace in Algeria hoping for better living standards.

- Algeria and other North African countries are strategically located closer to European countries, and have increased transit migration to Europe. Some citizens of other SSA countries on their way to Europe often find themselves settling in these countries if they find work.

- Increased clandestine and irregular migration as a result of restrictive immigration policies of the North. This also involves trafficking of persons from within Africa.

- Higher international mobility of qualified and skilled persons from SSA to developed countries. Most of the countries in SSA are not capable of competitively paying labour for skilled manpower.

- Increased feminization of migration, although this is still under-represented when compared with other regions.

Hanson (2008) observe that within the sending countries, emigrants appear to be positively selected in terms of schooling, which raises concerns about brain drain from these countries, and deprives them of high-income taxpayers. Guilmoto and Sandron (2001) note that in developing countries the migration cycle of a region, a social group, or a village is an historical phenomenon that depends on the structural changes in the environment. They note that either the migrant and/or his family and friends can pay for migration, or it can be organised from the start and paid for directly or indirectly by the recruiting sector. Migration can therefore be determined by the demand side, such as demand for trained labour such as nurses in the receiving countries, which may be occasioned by the availability of opportunities.

The cost-benefit element is also paramount with the need to balance the cost of emigration and the benefit from migration, also determining the decision to migrate. These costs include previous investments like the costs of raising children, acquisition of human capital, and establishment in the destination and a future opportunity cost for the family of the migrant and for the community (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001). The costs can be split up into explicit once-and-for-all migration costs like transport and legal papers, and indirect costs of migration such as the psychic costs of leaving family and country, net social security benefits or taxes, and adjustment costs in the country of destination (van Dalen et al. 2004). In situations where anticipated gains in the form of monetary or material transfers are high, then the decision to migrate will be taken.
Migration can also be determined by uncertainty, which can be broken down into uncertainty on current conditions in the destination country that may not be observable; and the future evolution of conditions in both the source and the destination country (van Dalen et al. 2004). The first type of uncertainty may trigger speculative migration as migrants will just “try their luck” in foreign labour markets, while the other type of uncertainty may discourage migration as migrants may just “wait and see” until some of the uncertainty is resolved.

At the regional level, Adepoju (2002) notes that migration in West Africa is strongly influenced by factors such as poverty, depressed economies, and socio-political crises. These factors however, vary from country to country, depending on whether the country is a migrant sending or migrant receiving. Arthur (1991) also argues that the specific nature of the links between the individual, the family, and the community determines why people move or stay. This argument is advanced further by noting that in West Africa, family is the decision-making unit in migration and thus influences the decision making by assisting the potential migrant to establish ties in the place of destination and by providing information and also financial assistance. Women play a special role in this migratory process in terms of planning and arrangements that begins after the decision to migrate has been made. In such decisions, women may influence the preference for sons who are expected to migrate and raise the social status of their family members by returning with capital investment (Arthur, 1991).

The traditional neo-classical economic approach to Migration emphasizes the importance of the relative difference in wage rates and rate of return to human capital between the destination and countries of origin as decisive factors in the international migration decision. Poor living standards and employment opportunities in the country of origin make it more attractive to seek improvement of one’s economic fortunes abroad. Human capital economics predict that people of working age are more likely to migrate as they have a higher chance of improving their living standards than others.

Both social and economic networks may also encourage emigration. Shaw (1997) quoting Ricci (2003) showed how the success of trading networks between Senegal and Europe encouraged more emigration in a study of the Senegalese diaspora. Other than these, existing trading networks provided market information and credit to newcomers, and encouraged more emigration as new emigrants find a place to start rather than starting from scratch when they migrate to Europe.

Both push and pull factors contribute to migration. The push factors generally include the low GDP and the general poor economic conditions which result in poverty and poor quality of life and conflicts; population growth that outstrips economic growth, rapid urban development without concomitant growth, insecurity; as well as corruption and misappropriation of aid
granted by donors, which does not primarily go to those who need it most. Other push factors include the creeping spread of drought and desertification, often linked to population growth, and in the longer term, the effects of global warming. Migration is further facilitated by the increasing professionalism of networks of human smugglers and the profitable nature of such smuggling, as well as in the growth of parallel economic networks.

Other push factors include: technology limitations, inadequate coordination between education and labour market and uncertainty about the future, lack of realistic manpower policies, and economic instability (Chang, 1999). In the worst case, some people in the SSA have fled their countries because of violations of human rights, ethnic conflicts, or war, and have migrated and entered other countries as asylum seekers or refugees due to ethnic or political conflict (Eurostat, 1999a).

Other movements from SSA to the Maghreb countries in particular Algeria are caused by large wage differentials, labour market conditions, migration laws and policies in country of origin and destination, availability of networks, and financial constraints. Hatton and Williamson (2002) stress the importance of immigration policies and, in earlier work (2001), point to the increasing migration pressure in Africa from non monetary factors such as deteriorating economic conditions.

C. Migration policies

Apart from the social and economic issues, government policies play an important role in determining whether prospective migrants migrate and the likelihood of return migrants. Given the growing importance of remittances, a number of countries have been formulating policies that can enable them benefit from the migrants through remittance inflows. The migration policies\(^2\) of North and West Africa aims at developing a strategic framework for addressing the challenges posed by migration and to ensure the integration of migration and related issues into the national and regional agenda for security, stability, development and co-operation. Specifically, the policies are geared to:

- Addressing free movement of people and to strengthen intra-regional and inter-regional cooperation in matters concerning migration on the basis of the established processes of migration at the regional and sub-regional levels.
- Creating an environment conducive to facilitating the participation of migrants, in particular those in the Diaspora in the development of their own countries.
- Addressing regional issues relating to human trafficking by creating special anti-trafficking police units and a regional task force to deal with the issue.

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\(^2\) See Macha et.al
• Reaching out to Diaspora communities in Europe and North America with a view to encouraging their return to, or investment in their country of origin.

The SSA countries initiatives of addressing migration issues through appropriate policies dates back to 2001, when the SSA countries met in Lusaka, and singled out migration as one of the means of raising living standards within the SSA countries. The aim of the Lusaka summit was to address emerging migratory configurations and to ensure the integration of migration and related issues into national regional agenda. The countries affirmed their commitment to address border problems that threaten peace and security and to strengthen mechanisms for protection of refugees and to combat human trafficking. In addition, they pledged to invest in human development to mitigate the brain drain to promote regional integration and corporation as well as economic growth.

According to Adepoju (2008), the management of migration process is complex and goes beyond control measures. Instead, policy makers need to appreciate that human mobility is an inherent and desirable component of the development process and that many prosperous countries and communities have been built on migrant labour. According to Adepoju, SSA countries are unlikely to take genuine step to control migration. Indeed, the increased clandestine and irregular migration, including trafficking of persons from within other parts of Africa is attributed to restrictive immigration policies. This notwithstanding, some countries have come up either individually or jointly with migration policies as discussed below.

**Algeria:** The Algerian migration policy has always attempted to restrict those moving outside Algeria to guard against the brain drain. Under the Algerian Migrant Workers Convention, the migrant workers and their families need some protection. The government of Algeria has been concerned with irregular migration from Algerian shores of citizens and other nationals towards Europe, as a crisis, and even a national tragedy. Statistics published by UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs indicate that there are currently more Algerian migrants leaving the country than there are foreign migrants entering. Official government figures for 2007 indicate that 1,500 Algerians were arrested for attempting to migrate to Europe through irregular channels (Fargues, 2005).

As a migration policy in Algeria, it is compulsory for all travellers crossing the Algerian border by land, sea or air to complete a border card. This make it possible to supply data on international migration flows; to determine the number of nationals who emigrate legally each year by country of destination and by reason for departure; to know the volume of emigrant nationals who comeback into the country each year and from where, to count the number of international migrants who enter the country each year by country of origin and reason for entering the country; and to evaluate the number of asylum seekers and their country of origin. The information is collected on travellers’ arrival or departure, and it is compulsory for all
travellers to complete a border card. The card is in three languages on entry (Arabic, French and English) and in two languages on the exit (Lutterbeck, 2006)).

The migration policy in Algeria also advocates for a residence permit to those entering the country. This is developed and processed manually by the department for national security (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale - DGSN) in the Ministry for Interior and Local Government offices. The information is intended for internal checks by the DGSN, and it is not suited to automatic processing. The work permit records are kept by the Ministry for Employment, Department of Employment in central government and employment offices in the provinces (wilayas). Existing information is derived from the application form for a permit and the information on the permit itself. The information is used for the internal checks performed by the Ministry of Labour, Ministry of the Interior and Local Authorities (Mohammed and Aaditya, 2005).

Morocco: Morocco has made important steps to construct an institutional framework for dealing with migration and has adopted clear policies (Sadiqi 2005). Ten major government agencies are dealing with migration: the Delegated Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Residing Abroad (DMCMCRA); the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Ministry of Human Rights; the Ministry of Labour; the Ministry of Social Affairs; the Ministry of Health; the Ministry of Education; and the Parliament. Of these governmental agencies, the most important ones are the DMCMCRA and the Ministry of the Interior.

The DMCMCRA has the strategy that takes advantage of a favorable context of Morocco’s international outlook. The favorable context emanates from strong political goodwill from His Majesty King Mohammed VI. In his speech of 30th July 2004, he stated that his Kingdom had called for a new migration policy in accordance with the structural changes affecting the Moroccan Community abroad. The speech acknowledged the hopes and ambitions of the community to develop and modernize Morocco, and enhance its international status abroad.

Sadiqi (2005) acknowledges that migration being one among the main sources of relations with the rest of the world, has become a political priority for Morocco. She contends that it assists in understanding of the progress achieved by Morocco in the implementation of liberal policies. The DMCMCRA maintains that the national context of Morocco is extremely favourable to promote migration related issues. The Ministry has sought to link the Moroccan Diaspora with national goals, and has declared it the second top priority of the Government after security and defence. The four priorities of the Moroccan government are; the defence of its vital and national interests, mainly territorial integrity; the involvement of the Moroccan community residing abroad in the process of Morocco’s national development; the implementation of the principles of equal opportunities and full citizenship; and the enhancement of civil society as partner of the government.
On the importance of the DMCMCRA, Sadiqi (2005) notes that, migration has emerged as a sensitive issue at the global level. The rise of international concern on migration translates into a spectacular increase in the governmental and Non-Governmental Agencies specialized in migration, as well as academic activity on migration. She further observes that the international community pays a growing attention to human rights, in particular regarding migrant rights since migrants are particularly a vulnerable population.

**Senegal**: In the case of Senegal, attention has been focused on migration since the early 1980s, with the goal of treating all Senegalese citizens in the same way regardless of whether they live in the country or outside the country’s boarders (Hjalmarsson and Hogberg, 2008). These efforts have resulted in preparation of migration policy document that deals with migration in general and stresses the importance of handling migration from departure, abroad and the return, both voluntarily and forced. While protecting the interests of migrants, campaigns are also being conducted to explain to the people the opportunities available locally, which can be tapped to meet their economic needs. Also fronted is the involvement of migrants on local development activities, including political development.

Indeed, opening up opportunities for migrants have potential of making migrants feel part of national development of the country. The Senegalese government has also entered into bilateral agreements with some countries as regards migration to those countries and the welfare of migrants. These actions by the Senegalese government show a deliberate effort to have policies in place that provides for clarity on migration while also offering options locally. This is a major step and and is expected to assist citizens in making the decision of whether to migrate or not.

**Tunisia**: A number of responses have been put in place to address the problem of migration. These include; tightening of controls on the southern borders of Maghreb and the revised rules on the entry, residence, employment and nationals of other African countries; tightening of border controls at departure points to Europe; the signing of readmission agreements; policing of international borders with countries of destinations such as Italy; training of coastal surveillance staff; provision of logistical support for maritime security forces, and naval patrols with Italy in Tunisia territorial waters.

Tunisia has gone beyond policy and passed two legal provisions in 2004 to deal with illegal migration. The legal provisions aim at limiting illegal migration and associated criminal networks. One of the laws allows closer surveillance of vessels and regulates the ownership of these vessels. It also sets out rules for mooring in ports. Further, the country has readmission agreement with Italy which covers the return of non nationals.
D. Challenges of migration

The process of migration is fraught with challenges especially for destination and transit countries. The latter countries face unique challenges, which can be categorized into five challenges: economic; legal and administrative; security; diplomatic and other challenges (Fargues and Bensaad, 2007). In the area of economic challenges, the local labour markets are plagued with unemployment and low returns to skills among the nationals and transit migrants are viewed as undesirable newcomers competing with nationals for scarce resources.

In order to respond to social challenges of being in a new environment, the transit migrants often form associations in their precarious living environments, which expose them to high risk. Unless such needs are addressed, tensions arise between immigrant communities and local populations, which can result in strained relations and violence.

In the area of legal and administrative challenges, most countries where transit migrants stay have for long viewed themselves as a place of departure not of arrival of migratory movement and consequently, they are characterised by a deficit in legal provisions governing the entry and settlement of aliens. This deficit has potential of prolonged transit or even durable settlement in contrast with strong measures of migration containment taken by major traditional countries of destination. Receiving countries still have to adapt legislation and regulations which reflect their new status as receiving countries.

Both security and diplomacy are also challenges. Transit migration is linked with the emergence of criminal networks of smugglers and traffickers of human beings. At the same time, it affects the diplomatic relations between the intended destination countries by the migrants, and the countries of origin. Indeed, transit migration can not be unilaterally managed by the transit countries and requires cooperation with origin and destination countries.

Other challenges of migrants include; human rights issues and vulnerability of migrants to HIV/AIDS; illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings; readmission of illegal migrants and improvement of legal immigration channels, and dealing with exclusion, xenophobic and racism in the destination countries. Immigrants live in poor areas and have poor working conditions. In West and North Africa as well as Europe, there has been a tendency of anti-immigration discourses to legitimize if not institutionalise racism and the violation of the rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees especially, from North Africa. This is manifested through lack of protection, for example in Algeria, where irregular migrants are subject to arbitrary expulsion, arrests and repressive measures. Lack of access to legal assistance, education, basic healthcare and shelter has intensified these problems.

The worsening economic situation in most West African countries frustrates the migration process by making the benefits for most low-skilled jobs not worth the efforts of migrants. Many
West Africans are stuck in foreign countries without the financial means to travel back home. At the same time, the host countries feel threatened by their presence and easily blame all illegal tendencies on them (ECOWAS, 1999). Xenophobia is on the rise in most places with migrants being targets of attacks and abuse during minor disturbances such as during international football matches, election periods, and general economic hardships. This development is rooted in economic downturn, increasing unemployment among young nationals, conflicts and political instability. Thus, the migration process is entangled in a web of socio-economic and political institutions with negative repercussions for development (Mutume, 2006).

According to De Haas (2008), the persistent and increasing migration from and through North Africa has put relations with European countries under considerable stress. In particular, the EU has attempted to externalize its restrictive immigration policies by putting North African states under pressure to adopt restrictive immigration laws and regulations and to intensify joint border controls. The creation of buffer zones is part of the agreements the EU has signed with all North African states, except Libya, aimed at creating a free trade zone, which is believed to promote reduction of migration in North African and other Mediterranean sending countries.

Preventive and pre-emptive actions require information-sharing. Prosecution in countries of origin, transit and destination needs to be more effective and systematic. Barriers to efficient response to trafficking include lack of political will, capacity, and political awareness. Related issue is the perception in relatively deprived environments and general lack of legal framework to prosecute offenders, as well as development of smuggling partly as a response to increasing migration restrictions and repression, rather than the cause of illegal/legal migration as often presented (Kritz, 1992).

**Mauretania**: The current migration issues in Mauritania according to International Organization for Migration (IOM) are: sharing of information, use of research findings and statistical data, particularly on issues related to migration and development; initiating joint training and capacity-building activities in areas such as migration management, migration law, the human rights of migrants, refugee protection, counter-trafficking, as well as the linkage between migration, trade and development. For Mauritania and some west African countries, IOM is particularly concerned with promoting humane and orderly migration for the benefit of all; upholding the human dignity and well-being of migrants; encouraging social and economic development through migration; assisting in meeting the growing operational challenges of migration management; and advancing understanding of migration issues. The IOM does these by using its long experience and world-wide presence to provide a full range of services and advice to governments and migrants, from projects and practical solutions to policy and broad strategic approaches, from data collection, research and analysis to the provision of a forum for states, intergovernmental organizations and civil society to exchange views and experiences and promote cooperation and coordination of efforts on international migration issues (IOM, 2009).
The challenges facing migration in Mauritania just like other West African countries are many. An important one to migration in the West African sub-region and particularly Mauritania is the lack of enforcement of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) protocol on entry, residence and settlement. Free movement of persons seems to be respected by the states who signed the treaty, but regularisation of documentation for settlement purposes is still a nightmare. Harassment along border post is on the decline but not eliminated. Discrimination against migrants is a reality in most countries where indigenous communities feel threatened by the prosperity of the newly arrived. These new arrivals usually have one major aim of success in whatever endeavour they engage in, which spurs them on (African Union Commission, 2004), sometimes at the advantage of the local communities.

II. Determinants and challenges of emigration from Sub-Saharan Africa

The traditional neoclassical economic approach to migration emphasizes the importance of the relative difference in wage rates and rate of return to human capital in the destination and countries of origin as decisive factors in the international migration decision. Poor living standards and employment opportunities in the country of origin make it more attractive to seek improvement of one’s economic fortune abroad. Human capital economic theory also contends that people of working age are most likely to migrate as they have a higher chance to increase their living standards than others (Adams, 2003).

Oppressive political conditions raise the costs of staying for all individuals, except the oppressing political elite. Restrictions on the freedom to associate, to assemble, to voice dissident political opinions and to compete for political office can therefore be expected to be positively associated with migration flows from other regions to Mauritania. In most cases, a combination of threats from both government and dissident groups such as in periods of civil war leads to migration. Geographical reasons can also cause migration when one is exposed to natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods and famines (Adepoju, 2004).

A study based on migration surveys conducted in four African countries (Ghana, Senegal, Egypt and Morocco) in the period 1997/1998 by van Dalen et al (2004) shows how high the emigration intentions are and what drives these intentions. The study finds most men stating economic reasons as their primary reason for intending to move abroad, whereas a mixture of family reasons and economic reasons influences women’s decision to migrate. Thus, unlike women, men are driven by the need to establish a source of income and to gain ‘economic stability’. The study finds women from the Muslim countries, Morocco and Senegal, to have migrated mostly
within the framework of family reunification, or to marry a compatriot who was already residing abroad.

Given the dynamics of migration including both the motives and the destination, it is apparent that there are certain characteristics that define migrants from a particular country or that end up in a specific region. Knowing the characteristics of the migrants can assist in informing the debate as to whether migration is beneficial or not to the sending country rather than having a general view of migration.

**A. Characteristics of migrants in case study countries**

The flow of migrants within and outside SSA has flourished since early times, but the harsh economic conditions in the countries of origin have led to an increase in the number of emigrants from SSA countries. North African countries remain strategically located closer to European countries, and have become strategic for migrants. Generally, migration of population from the SSA countries to almost all the Maghreb countries is mainly determined by socio-economic factors. Most migrants adopt internal and cross border migration as strategies to cope with ecological and economic problems, and tend to move towards areas of relative prosperity and stability due to intra regional disparities. In addition, there is increased clandestine and irregular migration as a result of restrictive immigration policies of the north. This also includes trafficking of persons from within Africa.

In describing migration in the SSA region, several sub-regional characteristics can be noted: i) Labour migration and irregular migration characterise Western Africa; ii) East Africa is noted for its refugee movements, especially in the Horn of Africa and, recently, in the Great Lakes region; iv) Contract labour predominates in Southern Africa and, with the new opportunities in this sub-region, the migration of skilled workers and professionals has become an important feature. In addition, evidence is emerging throughout SSA of a growing flow of independent women migrants, including highly skilled professionals who have migrated to the countries of the North and the Middle East.

Emigrants to North Africa on the other hand, are a mixture of both skilled workers, students, and a pool of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. As already noted, increasingly, political and economic crises are triggering migrant labour and refugee flows to destinations which have no historical, political or economic links with the countries of emigration. The late 1990s economic downturn had been linked to the structural adjustment programmes in many nations, and was associated with increasing unemployment, underemployment, inequality and poverty. As these crises intensify, flows of refugees and irregular migrants are increasing in both size and impact. Below we examine the characteristics of migrants for some of the case study countries.
**Algeria**: The migrants from sub-Saharan Africa to Algeria or North African countries in general have had several similar characteristics. The migrants have adopted internal and cross-border migration as strategies to cope with ecological and economic problems. This is because countries such as Algeria tends to be relatively stable and at least economically better off than other parts of SSA, and therefore migrants move to these countries in the hope of getting better economic opportunities. Citizens of SSA countries like Mali and Niger find solace in Algeria in anticipation of better living standards. Some of these migrants are on their way to Europe find themselves settling in Algeria and other Maghreb countries if they find meaningful economic engagement.

The in-migration to Algeria is also characterised by higher international mobility of qualified and skilled persons from SSA to developed countries. Most of the countries in SSA are not capable of competitively paying the skilled manpower. Since it is believed that there is better pay in the North especially Algeria, many migrants find their way in the Maghreb countries hoping to get to Europe at one time.

**Morocco**: Migrants to Morocco come from several countries of SSA with majority coming from Mauretania, DRC, and the islands of Sao Tome and Principe as reflected on Figure 4.

**Figure 4: Number of Sub-Saharan Africa Immigrants in Morocco as at 2003**

![Graph showing number of immigrants from different countries](image)

According to a 2005 European Commission report and Adepoju (2006), most of the 2,000 young irregular immigrants who had spent years in camps or were living in forests near the border of Melilla in Morocco were well-educated: 38 per cent had finished secondary school, while a
further 24 per cent had been to university. By 2003, the number of SSA clandestine migrants (23,850) crossing the Strait of Gibraltar was almost double the number of Moroccans (12,400). As of the year 2003, a large number of migrants to Morocco were unemployed, while others were engaged in a variety of economic activities, including professional and none professional activities as reflected on Table 1.

Table 1: The Occupations of Foreign Residents in Morocco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social / Professional Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>21350</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land worker</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other functions</td>
<td>2553</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>1727</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>4663</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer/Journalist</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>12129</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investor</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor / pharmacist</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed forces</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>4694</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal profession</td>
<td>2624</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioner</td>
<td>3300</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special expert</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sportsman / woman</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60841</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As reflected on the Table 1, majority were unemployed (35.15), students (19.1%) and labourers (7.7%). An increasing number of sub-Saharan migrants work or pursue studies in Morocco, sometimes as a means to gain residency status. In 2005 alone, 25,000 African migrants were legally residing in Morocco, and their numbers seem to be increasing.

**Senegal:** It has been noted that migration from Senegal has been both South-North and South-South to countries like France, Cote d’Ivoire and Gabon (Diatta and Mbow, 1999) rather than
restricted to a specific region. This may point to the fact that the migrants may be having different economic and social interests depending on the region they migrate to.

Migrants from and within the sub-region include temporary cross-border workers, professionals, clandestine workers, and refugees. Much of the movement has been intraregional, mainly from the northern zones to the coastal regions, short-term, male dominated, and over long distances. While marital status plays no role in determining emigration intentions, Senegal is an exception with single people more set on emigrating than those with marital ties. Further, female migration has burgeoned in recent years especially among professionals leaving their husbands behind to cater for their children (Adepoju 2002).

Scholars such as Van Dalen et al (2004) discuss migrants from Senegal, noting that in Senegal non-migrants with a higher education display lower intentions of migration than those with no education. However, respondents with primary school education or diploma are more set on migrating than the uneducated. While no concrete conclusions can be drawn from this, it points to the fact that Senegalese migrants are mostly young and unmarried and have attained basic minimum level of education that most likely enables them to express themselves more easily.

Ceschi and Stocchiero (2006) supports Van Dalen et al (2004) findings by noting that Senegalese migrants have overwhelmingly involved single men and generally bachelors and that Islamic culture has curbed female immigration more than Christian culture. The educated migrants on the other hand, have lower intentions to migrate which may point to the fact that they can easily access some decent employment back at home. The authors however, warn that the negative selection effect of education in Senegal must not be overstated as 95 per cent of the respondents had only a primary education or no education at all. Their finding on the characteristics of Senegalese with the highest intentions to migrate supports the argument by Diatta and Mbow (1999) that Senegalese who leave the country do so in search of work.

Social network effects on intentions are virtually absent in Senegal and Morocco, and the case of Senegal may be the result of region-specific migration culture as migration is concentrated in certain regions (van Dalen et al. 2004). The Senegalese migrants come from almost all regions of the country but particularly from Baol (Diourbel and Touba), the region of Louga, Thies and the region of Matam and from the capital Dakar (Ceschi and Stocchiero, 2006). This, points to the fact that, migration can be determined by regional factors where early migrants offer networks for prospective migrants. This fact has been well documented in migration studies.

**B. Economic factors in country of origin**

Trends in migration from SSA countries to the case study countries largely follow regional economic decline or conflict and insecurity, notably in Nigeria and Côte d’Ivoire. These are
historical poles of regional labour migration. These developments led to a progressive reorientation of migrants’ destination, a context in which North African countries affirmed themselves as a major alternative destination for SSA. Further shift in 2000 introduced a diversification of trans-Saharan migration routes to and through Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, and to Europe.

The poor economic performance, loss of state capacity, the fluctuating effects of SAPs and human insecurity and related political instability and related conflicts ((GCIM, 2005b) in SSA prompted migratory movements. These factors have contributed to unemployment which was 9.8 per cent in 2006. The deficit in decent work opportunities and general poverty prompts youth, and many others to migrate in desperate quest of a more secure alternative and a future (Adepoju 2008).

The late 1990s economic downturn was linked to the poor economic growth and the implementation of SAPs in many countries. This contributed to increasing unemployment, underemployment, inequality and poverty. Gubert and Nordman (2008) acknowledges the economic challenge in home countries noting that migration is a consequence of differential economic opportunities across regions or countries especially earning differentials. Individuals are more likely to migrate, the higher the destination wage, the lower the home wage, and the lower the fixed cost of migration. Like Adepoju (2008), they also contend that push factors for developing countries are population growth and corresponding unemployment, poverty and political instability. Pull factors are mainly high wages in the receiving countries, their social security systems and political stability as well as a potential past colonial relationship or common culture between host and origin countries.

Another motivating factor is the desire to diversify the risks facing the poor, by placing household members in distant countries or regions where adverse shocks are not correlated with those facing the home region (Lucas and Stark, 1985). While much of the available literature supporting this view is based on internal migration, Africa borders are sufficiently porous that motivations for internal and international migration are often similar. De Haas (2006) brings out the issue of livelihoods, noting that internal and international migration within the African continent should primarily be seen as a means to enhance livelihood security through income diversification because the welfare gains, if any, are relatively small. In both countries studied, it was mainly migration to Europe that allowed households to accumulate substantially wealth.

Another study focusing on Burkina Faso showed that seasonal migration enables households to invest in their main pastoral activities (Konseiga 2005b; Shaw, 2007). Reasons for migration have been noted to be predominantly economic (80%) or educational (16%) (Nwajiuba, 2005; Shaw, 2007). However, Gulimoto (1998), in a study in the Senegal River Valley emphasizes the
influence of social mores in influencing migration, particularly as migrants are heavily dependent on the family or village for advance money and access to networks.

The GDP per capital of country of origin is also a major determinant which exerts significant push effects in the SSA region. Income difference between the country of origin and the Maghreb countries has influenced migration. Differences in country incomes are likely much greater, on average for migrants travelling outside their native region than for intraregional migration, partly because larger income differentials are required to overcome higher costs associated with travelling over greater distances, and settling where there are fewer networks. This is particularly true for low educated workers who need to overcome poverty constraints in order to afford the fixed cost of migration.

Studies have looked at migration issues and economic performance and found that migrants coming from low-wage countries optimally save more than migrants from high-wage countries, with the higher savings rate of migrants attributed to the probability of return migration (Oded, 2002). This reflects the fact that the decision to migrate for the low-wage economy emigrants is made on purpose, so as to be able to bridge the wage differentials that exists between their home countries and the destination countries. In most cases, however, it may be found that the kind of jobs done in the destination country may not be the same as that which was being done at home country.

International migration is generally viewed negatively, and there is a pressing need to re-conceptualise it as making a significant positive contribution to social and economic transformation and change in SSA. Migration, in particular overseas migration often is not within the ability of the poorest. For example, a survey of rural households in four villages in Burkina Faso found that intercontinental migrants tended to come from the highest income group and to earn more in remittances than the continental immigrants, while households with intercontinental migrants have higher income and are better off in terms of land and livestock than the households with continental migrants (Black et al 2005; Shaw, 2007). Wouterse and van den Berg (2004) found that migration to other African countries from Burkina Faso was undertaken by comparatively poor households in response to lack of work and insufficient work.

**Algeria**: Immigration from West-Africa to Algeria followed regional economic decline or conflict and insecurity. These developments led to a progressive reorientation of migrants’ destination, a context in which Algeria affirmed itself as a major alternative destination for sub-Saharan Africans.

**Morocco**: Migrants to Morocco mainly come from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa. Shaw (2007) studied determinants of migration in these countries which depend on income differentials between the origin and destination countries, the
desire to reduce risks by diversifying the sources of income, threshold effects, forced migration and the influence of networks.

**Tunisia**: Migrant workers from SSA will continue to migrate to North Africa and particularly Tunisia due to a number of reasons, which are not different from those already highlighted. In particular, Tunisia has improved indicators of welfare (Gubert and Nordman 2008). The other determinant of migration to Tunisia is the high demand for cheap migrant labour in Tunisia, which immigrants from SSA provide.

Migration to Tunisia has been more rampant due to the fact that a growing number of unemployed highly educated labour force in Tunisia shun unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and instead prefer to emigrate. Tunisia’s demographic trend is also a factor. The reduction in fertility in Tunisia since 1970s has reduced the number of people joining the labour force. This coupled with Tunisia’s political stability and steady economic growth overtime, has attracted migrant workers from SSA to look for economic opportunities in Tunisia.

The existence of well established Trans Saharan migration routes and Tunisian migrant networks as well as improvements in communication and transportation infrastructure which facilitate onward migration has also played a role on inward migration to Tunisia. Other determinants of migration from SSA to Tunisia are intensified border control and policing by European countries, which has forced migrant workers to settle in Tunisia after failing to venture into Europe. Finally change in Libya and Algeria has also played a role in increased inwards migration to Tunisia. After clashes between the Libyan nationals with SSA migrant workers, most of SSA migrant workers have diverted their movement to Tunisia (IOM 2008).

Tunisia is also exposed to internal migration. The region’s fragile ecosystems, desertification and diminishing arable land have rendered many agricultural workers landless while pastoralists have been compelled to migrate to coastal regions, towns and cities or even neighboring countries simply to survive. The low commodity prices, together with unstable and lowly paid jobs, help to explain the persistence of migration (Adepoju, 2008).

**C. Mitigating challenges of migration**

The influx of irregular immigrants has been too much especially from West Africa and beyond route to European Union (EU) and Southern African countries (Hatton and Williamson, 2003). The solutions to these trends of irregular migration must be sought jointly by the countries of origin, transit and destination. In order to mitigate the challenges of migration, a number of ways have been suggested (Adepoju, 2008). These include:
Improving intersectoral coordination by establishing a central body to manage migration using the strategic framework for migration policies guideline;

Introducing due process measures including legal framework to fight illegal migration and to punish those guilty of smuggling and trafficking;

Establishing appropriate mechanism to enable national focal points to exchange information regularly in order to develop a common vision and;

Encouraging Diaspora input in trade and investment for the development of countries of origin.

It is necessary to coordinate research on migration and development to provide current and reliable information on migration. Migration challenges call for partnership among the countries of origin, transit and destination to work together in addressing structural developmental roots of emigration and to build the capacity of countries of origin and transit to manage migration flows. The action plan should include efforts to address the root causes of underdevelopment, setting up of corporative programmes and the adoption of measures to facilitate the movement of workers and persons and promotion of access to regular migrants to education and training.

The West African countries have made political declarations and developed action plans against human trafficking. They have also committed themselves to ratification and full implementation of international instruments to strengthen laws against such trafficking, training of police, immigration officials, prosecutors and judges. However, many countries still find it difficult to control and prevent smuggling of human beings because they lack the capacity to respond adequately and regulations to deal with the challenge.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) founded in 1975 to enhance free trade and facilitate free movement of factors of production in the sixteen Member States, has been viewed as a pace setter in the management of migration. The ECOWAS protocol of May 1979 on free movement of persons and the right of residence and establishment of business for ECOWAS citizens within member countries should however be followed by urgent capacity building of migration officers. Their current function of border control and security need to be transformed into one of migration management helping to facilitate rather than restrict regular migration and regional integration.

Finally, for effective management of migration, countries of origin, transit and destination can forge bilateral relations in the regions and sub region as well as multilateral relations. At national level, collaboration between government agencies dealing with migration matters is essential but rarely exist (Adepoju, 2008).

Transit countries also face challenges that require different management. In Algeria for example, one of the challenges of migration is the pressure due to the fact that it is a transit country. The
influx of irregular immigrants has been too much especially from West Africa and beyond en route to EU and Southern African countries. Solutions to these trends must be sought jointly by the countries of origin, transit and destination.

In Mauretania, the major challenges of migration include: lack of coherence in migration policies rather than priorities; inadequate coordination between ministries responsible for migration matters; ineffective consultation between government, the corporate sector and civil society; inadequate capacity and knowledge of institutions dealing with migration issues, which results in inability to maximise the benefits derived from human mobility; and inadequate inter-state cooperation and shared responsibility among all stakeholders.

For mitigation purposes, the government of Mauritania advocates for the provision of prospective migrants, especially temporary contract workers, with orientation and training courses before their departure, so that they have a better understanding of their rights and obligations and are better equipped to cope with working in foreign countries (Van Hear, 2003).

III. The role of informal employment and social protection situation on inward migration

The informal sector has been a major source of employment for the urban population since 1991 due to economic crisis and macroeconomic adjustment policies that followed (Lecuyer 2002, as quoted by Verick no date). The experience of recent decades has shown that classical social insurance, while remaining an important tool for consolidating the formalization of a part of the workforce, has had a limited effect when it comes to reaching out to groups in the informal economy. A promising way to extend coverage in this area is through non-contributory, tax-financed cash transfers delivered in various forms: as universal social pensions paid to all the elderly; cash benefits paid to families with children conditional on school attendance or participation in public health programmes; categorical benefits aimed at persons with disabilities; orphans and other vulnerable groups; and targeted social assistance programmes.

A. Effects of informal employment on migration

Informal employment has become an important source of economic engagement in most countries as economic crisis continues to hit firms resulting in loss of formal employment. The situation in most countries is worse for immigrants who often have no relevant papers for formal employment and have to rely on the informal economy which lack decent work pillars such as voice and representation; social protection; and workers education (ILO 2002).
Migration policies in receiving countries mostly give preference to certain specialised skills and expertise compared to being informally engaged. This means that engagement on informal employment is a drawback on migration since other than these policies, raising the necessary money to migrate is also difficult. Labour migrants are also mostly attracted to countries where the possibilities of getting employment is high, as one of the major reasons for migration is to get a source of income most likely through employment. Thus, countries with no established formal employment opportunities are not preferred as migrant destinations which results in restricting migration.

Although immigrants lack legal status and are vulnerable to exploitation, sub-Saharan migrants living in the case study countries find jobs in specific niches of the informal service sector. Such jobs include: cleaning and domestic work; petty trade; construction; agriculture; and fishery. Others try to pursue studies, sometimes often as a means to gain residency status. Below we use some of the case study countries to provide reflection on the effects of informal employment on migration.

Mauritania: The immigrants to Mauritania from other countries often get temporary employment in the informal sector, and are often not covered by social security schemes. Further, most of them are at great risk of loosing the social security benefits from their country of origin (IOM, 2005). In promoting circular migration, specific mechanisms need to be implemented to guarantee that, temporary migrant workers are not excluded from social security schemes. This notwithstanding, the Mauritanian government having realized the importance of migrant workers in the provision of cheap labour, has strengthened national strategies for the extension of social security coverage to the migrant workers and their families (Hatton et.al, 2002).

The government of Mauritania, in recognition of the importance of inward migration labour force has adopted several policies to boost the migrant’s social protection. This has been done by extending existing social insurance schemes, building community based or occupation based insurance schemes on a voluntary or collective bargaining basis; and introducing basic tax-financed benefit systems to cushion the immigrants against the harsh economic conditions in the host country (IOM and IMP 2001). This has been done for both the residents and the immigrants to Mauritania (Doomernik, 1998).

Morocco: In reference to Morocco, De Haas (2009) notes that most irregular migrants enter Morocco from Algeria, at the border east of Oujda, after they have crossed the Sahara overland, usually through Niger. Once in Morocco, they attempt to cross to Europe by sea or try to enter the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla on the northern Moroccan coast by scaling the tall border fences separating these enclaves from Morocco. Although immigrants lack residency status and, therefore, vulnerable to exploitation, they sometimes manage to find jobs within the informal
sector and engage in activities within the service sector, tourism, petty trade, construction industry and agriculture.

As stated in previous sub section, the number of sub-Saharan migrants is still relatively limited compared to the sizeable Moroccan emigrant population. However, the few irregular migrants living in Morocco face substantial xenophobia and aggressive Moroccan and Spanish police and border authorities. Since most of them have no legal status, they are vulnerable to social and economic marginalization, and are persistently exposed to different forms of abuses.

Joshi (2008) notes, that the increasing numbers of black Africans living in Morocco have few chances of finding jobs. He further notes that, they are often under constant police harassment. Some immigrants attempt to integrate by marrying and setting up small businesses within the informal economy, but racism and unemployment have made it difficult for the migrants to find work and most of the migrants are beggars in the streets of Rabat, while most women turn to prostitution as a means of livelihood. Joshi further documents that, there are at least 8000 non-Moroccan black Africans in Morocco, including 2000 that have been granted or have applied for political asylum. Some of these migrants go to the extent of marrying local women and setting up small businesses, albeit integration is always rare.

**Senegal**: The Senegalese Ministry of Labour and Employment set up a social security scheme for the informal sector together with the Senegal Old-Age Pension Insurance Institution and the Social Security Fund (SSF). The Scheme targeted the self-employed and offered a range of benefits such as a prenatal allowance, maternity allowance, family allowance, accident and health insurance. The advantage of a large informal sector in economies like Senegal is the fact that, it enables the transit migrants to integrate easily in the economy if they have to make stopovers and stay for a while, to generate resources for the rest of the trip.

The Senegalese economy is dominated by agriculture and fishing as the largest source of employment, as agriculture and fishing employs about 75 per cent of the workforce while industry, mining and energy sectors account for only 5 per cent of the workforce (Financial Standards Foundation, 2009). Financial Standards Foundation estimates the average wage to be about US$ 4-5 per day and high unemployment levels have prompted migration as people search for employment. However, as established by van Dalen et al (2004) those with no education have less likely to migrate. This implies that this group remains behind to engage in informal employment to earn a living, while others rely on remittance flows to support their informal businesses and to bridge the income deficits for consumption.
B. Effects of social protection on migration

Social protection is primarily aimed at reducing vulnerability and managing the risk of people, households and communities with low income in relation to the fundamental necessities of life and social assistance. It includes many forms of income support if any unforeseen event takes place, as well as free health care and schooling. It thus includes much more than entitlement to a benefit, and the amount of benefit paid by social security (Franssen, 2006).

Lund et al 2003 has observed that at best, only one in five of the world’s population has adequate social security coverage. Lund further notes that those without coverage tend to work in informal economy, and are disproportionately found in developing countries. In Africa, the situation of informality is worse since over 60 per cent of the population (Charms x) are engaged within the informal economy and are largely lacking social protection. The paragraphs below provide some reflection on some of the case study countries.

Algeria: Algeria faces economic and social risks that threaten investments in human capital and compromise the welfare of the population. Vulnerable population groups include the poor, who are unable to engage in high-risk, high-return activities; children, who face the risk of entering informal labor markets prematurely; small landowners, who remain exposed to unanticipated changes in weather and fluctuations in prices; first-time job seekers and low-skilled workers, who face the risk of unemployment; and the elderly, who may lack access to sustainable health insurance and pension systems.

Algeria has put in place comprehensive public social protection systems that combine labor market programs, social insurance programs, and social assistance programs. The goal of these programs is to assist individuals and families in managing social risks, which can stem from man-made (unemployment, inflation) or natural sources (disease, death, adverse weather). Social protection interventions have helped to lessen the economic effects of shocks and promote the accumulation of human capital among the poor and vulnerable. However, most social protection systems in Algeria for both public and private sector are facing challenges. Each of the programmes is governed by different contribution and benefit rules.

Until the mid-1980’s, Algeria benefited from rapid growth, largely due to high oil prices. As a result, (a) government increased investment in the social sectors and established a range of formal social protection mechanisms, (b) poverty remained lower than in other regions (c) the State became the main employer and regulated wages. Increases in public expenditures that were driven by economic growth, demographics, and technology became unsustainable when oil prices began to fall in the mid-1980s. This was a global crisis and many economies experienced negative growth, followed by deteriorating economic and social conditions. The government of Algeria responded by developing a social protection system to cushion the workers as stated above.
Social Assistance Programs, such as public works, food subsidies, cash transfers, and social funds, have been used to help reduce poverty and mitigate income shocks for the poor. In Algeria, informal mechanisms abound in rural areas, such as transfers from family and non-government sources, as formal methods of social protection seldom extend to the rural population. Migration too has played an important role as a risk-coping mechanism. Unfortunately, social assistance programs have not been designed within the context of an integrated social protection strategy. There is little or no coordination between the various institutions involved in the implementation of these programs. Moreover, the majority are not appropriately monitored, targeted, and evaluated. Hence, it is frequent to observe duplications between programs, leakages that reduce the benefits received by the poor and vulnerable, and ineffective distribution systems.

**Mauritania**: The leading elements of social security policies in Mauritania are social insurance programmes providing long-term benefits in case of old age, disability and survivorship. Such schemes cover workers in the public sector, including the military, as well as workers in the private sector. Other categories of workers, such as temporary or casual workers, agricultural workers, domestic workers or migrant workers involved in the informal employment are excluded from legal social protection coverage. While workers in the public sector in principle enjoy a relatively high level of protection, workers in the private are only partially covered or not covered at all. The self-employed, mostly found within the informal economy, are partially or not covered at all (Arthur, 1991).

The main challenge for Mauritania is to build an effective social protection framework which guarantees protection for the population and the immigrants. The social protection programmes such as social pensions, child benefits and better access to essential health services, have contributed to enhancing income security, education, health outcomes, reducing the incidence of child labor, and encouraged engagement in productive activities (van der Geest, 2002).

An effective basic social protection programme in Mauritania is the one geared towards a situation in which all residents have the necessary financial protection to afford and have access to a nationally defined set of essential health care services; all children have income security, at least at the level of the nationally defined poverty line level, through family/child benefits aimed at facilitating access to nutrition, education and care; all those in active age groups who are unable to earn sufficient income on the labor markets enjoy a minimum income security through social assistance or social transfer schemes or through employment guarantee schemes, and all residents in old age or with disabilities have income security at least at the level of the nationally defined poverty line through pensions for old age and disability (IOM, 2003).
The ILO has put forward four principles which should guide the development of social security policies to which the government of Mauritania\(^3\) has adhered to. They include:

- Universality of access: Access for all to effective social protection through social security as the most fundamental principle.
- Progressiveness: Commitment to achieving higher levels of protection in line with economic and social development.
- Pluralism: Flexibility in the choice of institutional structures best suited to achieve the objective of universal coverage and the importance of stakeholder participation in governance.

**Morocco:** Fekete (2008) reported that an NGO - Association Beni Znassen pour la culture (ABCDS), launched its European-wide campaign to raise awareness on the plight of SSA migrants in Morocco. The NGO has provided humanitarian relief to impoverished sub-Saharan migrants who travel through Morocco in their bid to reach Europe. These destitute and desperate migrants, having undergone horrendous journeys across the Algerian desert, live in the most appalling conditions, in forests, caves and abandoned warehouses, and in constant fear of police detection and return to the Algerian border.

Fekete (2008) further observes that the ABCDS Committee assists in running a 24-hour emergency helpline and provides relief for migrants in distress. The relief includes provision of blankets, food, and credit for mobile phones. The latter is the only means of keeping in touch with loved ones in countries of origin. The ABCDS is part of a network of Maghrebian and African NGOs, which extends from Morocco and Mauritania to Senegal and Mali.

**Senegal:** The country has entered into bilateral agreements with certain countries like France to offer social protection for families of migrants working in those countries (Shaw, 2007) aimed at protecting the welfare of its citizens. This has an effect of encouraging Senegalese migrants to these countries. Senegal also signed an agreement with Gabon in 1987 aimed at securing social security benefits for children of Senegalese workers.

**Tunisia:** Informal economy thrives illegally in Tunisia, and is not well documented, making it almost impossible to document the nature of social security in the sector. Many irregular migrants operate underground and may not want to be identified as they continue to survive on the informal economy under fear of repatriation. According to Adepoju (2006) irregular migrants, lacking legal status and probably carrying false trade document are vulnerable to social and economic marginalization and rarely have access to or enjoy decent work.

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\(^3\) See ILO, 2009
IV. North and West Africa as transit zones for migrant workers from outside the region

A. Location and linkage of countries to outside world

The transit countries of Mauritania, Morocco, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria are currently faced with significant numbers of migrants from SSA countries. At least 100,000 people a year pass through each of these territories while heading for Europe; while others try to stay in the country while waiting for an opportunity to cross the Mediterranean. It is thought that there are currently between 1 and 1.5 million migrants in transit in Libya and roughly 100,000 in Mauritania and Algeria, with slightly fewer numbers in Tunisia and Morocco.

Although many migrants and refugees consider Algeria as their primary destination, a considerable proportion of them who fail to enter Europe prefer to stay in North Africa as a second-best option transit zone while waiting for favourable conditions. Most major North African cities, such as Nouakchott, Rabat, Oran, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Benghazi, and Cairo, now harbour sizeable communities of SSA migrants. Some migrants end up staying in migration hubs along the way. In fact, trans-Saharan migration has caused trade to flourish and has helped revitalize ancient trans-Saharan caravan trade routes and desert towns in Mali (Gao), Niger (Agadez), Chad (Abéché), Libya (Sebha and Kufra), Algeria (Tamanrasset), and Mauretania (Nouadhibou).

According to the IOM (2008), throughout known history there has been intensive population mobility between both sides of the Sahara through the Trans Saharan trade, conquest, pilgrimage, religion and education. The Trans Saharan connected North and West Africa economically, politically, religiously and socially. It was only the advent of colonialism, which drew borders where there had been none and created modern states that Trans-Saharan mobility and trade collapsed. After independence, the foundations were laid for the contemporary Tran Saharan migration system. Through this means, Sub Saharan migrants forged a vital connection between the resurgent Trans Saharan and the already established Euro – Mediterranean migration system. This has motivated West Africans to migrate to North Africa in an attempt to cross to Europe where salaries and condition of work are perceived to be better than North Africa.

Migrants use numerous land, sea and air routes to reach their desired destinations in North Africa and Europe. Because of increased restriction and vigorous border control most migrants have shifted to overland routes. The Trans Saharan journey is generally made in several stages and might take anywhere between one month to several years. On their way, migrants settle temporary in towns located on migration hubs to work and save money for their onward journey (IOM, 2008).
Libya and Algeria increased immigration of laborers from southern neighbours to their sweltering Saharan hinterlands where oil wells are located, but where the nationals often refused to work. In 1990s, Libya changed its foreign policy that altered Tran Saharan migration to Libya. In particular between 1992 and 2000 the UN embargo prompted Libya to intensity its relation with Sub Saharan Afriacn countries. In addition to Libya’s new immigration policies growing instability and the associated economic decline in several parts of West and Central African countries also contributed to the increase in the Tran Saharan migration.

**Algeria:** Algeria among other Maghreb countries has traditionally served as a source of migrants to the European Union (EU) countries, especially Spain, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, and the Gulf States. It has also become a major transit and destination area. Many SSA youths now enter the country in the hope of crossing to Europe via southern European outposts. Since the mid-1990s, increasing migration through and pressure on transit countries of the Maghreb and particularly Algeria by irregular migrants have intensified border patrolling of the Straits of Gibraltar. This has prompted migrants to cross from more easterly places along the Mediterranean coast, sometimes through the Italian island of Lampedusa and via the Canary Islands from ports in Senegal and Mauritania.

**Mauritania:** Mauritania is a vast territory with more than 5,000 km of borders, with a long standing tradition of migration and hospitality (CIA Fackfile, 2009). Due to its geographical position, the country has become an important transit site for migratory movements, particularly for irregular migrants en route to Europe. Controlling the vast maritime and land borders remains a major challenge for the state, as does the provision of assistance to migrants in its territory. Government authorities have expressed their request to International Organisation for Migration for support with migration management (Zachariah and Conde, 1981).

More stringent control of European borders makes clandestine migration land routes longer and more difficult. This leads to more or less temporary settlement of migrants for several years. It is noted that the link town of Tamanrasset in South Algeria increased from 3,000 inhabitants in 1966 to 65,000. This included 10 per cent sub-Saharan, at the end of 1990, the number of SSA migrants had increased to 50 per cent. Similarly, in 2005 the port town of Nouadhibou in North Mauritania had 10,000 West Africans waiting to migrate to Europe, representing 10 per cent of its population (Lahlou, 2004). Morocco estimates for the same year showed that there were 20,000 sub-Saharan around the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla as well as the border town of Oujda at the Algerian border. This migration generates a transit economy in the major link towns (hotel trade, itinerant trading, transport, but also prostitution). Human traffic is developing on former trans-Saharan salt trade routes. On these migratory routes, mutual aid and religious structures, as well as associations, operate in the presence of smugglers, document forgers, as well as law enforcement. Some migrants also attempt to go by sea using canoes from Mauritania to the Canary Islands (Fargues, 2006)
Morocco: Morocco receives substantial number of immigrants from Sub-Saharan countries. Although most Sub-Saharans traveling to Morocco are transit-migrants on their way to Europe, an increasing number are settling in Morocco on a semi-permanent basis. Although Moroccan policy makers tend to stress the temporary, transitory character of sub-Saharan immigration, one of the few laws of migration seems to be that some proportion of “temporary” migrants will prove to be permanent settlers.

The establishment of what seems to be a new trans-Saharan migration system seems entirely consistent with transitional migration theory and it exemplifies the importance of relative deprivation in explaining migration. Since they see Morocco as an easily accessible, comparatively more developed, politically stable and safe country, an increasing number of migrants from SSA prefer settling there to returning home if they do not manage to enter Europe. This might herald an era of increasing African migration to, and settlement in Morocco and the co-existence of immigration and emigration typical of “transitional” countries. Interestingly, this immigration might well restore Morocco’s historical function as a bridge between SSA, North Africa and Europe.

Senegal: Senegal is seen as a strategic location geographically for migration and as a transit route from other countries to Europe. As noted by Adepoju (2002), Senegal has been both a labour exporting and labour receiving country and the migratory configurations have changed in recent years with Senegal taking on an additional role as a transit country for migrants seeking to enter the European Union via Las Palmas to Spain. Spaan and van Moppes (2006) also note that Senegal has many emigrants to Europe and to African countries and at the same time hosts migrant communities from countries such as Mali, Mauritania, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia, in addition to immigrants from other regions.

Senegal is said to have broken away from colonial migration patterns and diversified her migration to southern Europe and the US. Senegalese-born immigrants are increasingly present in Spain and Italy. As noted by ADB (2006) The French corridor remains the principal route although immigration routes have extended outside the historic and linguistic linkages to France, especially to Spain, Italy, and the United States. The diversification of destinations is accompanied by broader emigration zones, for example the case of Casamance in Senegal, which has become a hub of emigration (ADB, 2006).

The diversification of Senegalese migrants to Europe may also have facilitated the positioning of Senegal as a transit route. Senegal, and especially her capital city which has traditionally attracted people, is on one of the routes that lead to one of the three main departure areas in Africa, where small boats leave for Europe (Spaan and van Moppes, 2006). The authors note that Dakar is a migrant hub between Conakry in Guinea and Nouadhibou in northern Mauritania,
and it is also a popular place for migrants to stay for a while and earn money for the rest of their trip northwards. The position of Senegal as a transit zone may is nurtured by a number of factors, including: the migratory nature of the Senegalese thus creating effective networks for migration; the fact that Senegal has attracted a substantial number of immigrants even before, thus enabling the Senegalese immigrants to offer a base for the would be transit migrants and the closeness of Senegal to Europe.

**B. Patterns of emigration and their effects**

Several tens of thousands of Sub-Saharan Africans try to cross the Mediterranean each year. In recent years, it has been observed that sub-Saharan migration to North Africa has increased. These trends do not cover only “transit migration”. Some Sub-Saharan migrants become established for long periods, while a minority of them moves on to Europe. Figure 5 on the next page shows the migration web. The diagram shows the main migration routes and patterns to Europe through Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Senegal and Mauritania.

The introduction of tougher rules regarding entry and residence of foreigners in Europe for regular migration has since the mid-1990s, inadvertently pushed irregular West African migrants to use complex routes to reach the Maghreb as a transit region to enter Europe clandestinely. In the process, Morocco has become a major transit-migration country for these migrants from West Africa and beyond who enter the country at the border east of Oujda from Algeria, after crossing the Sahara through Niger, hoping to enter the EU countries via Spain (Seyni, 2000; Adepoju 2006).
The surveys conducted and testimonies gathered indicate that it is neither the poorest nor the weakest who attempt this perilous adventure. They are mainly men, relatively young and capable of financing a long, costly and physically painful journey. They are also relatively well-educated; many of them hold the equivalent of a General Certificate of Education (GCE), A level and above and only a minority is illiterate (ECOWAS-SWAC 2006).

Although commonly portrayed as "destitute" or "desperate," migrants are often relatively well educated and from moderate socio-economic backgrounds. They move because of a general lack of opportunities, fear of persecution and violence, or a combination of both. Although the media focus on "boat migrants," many employ other methods including using tourist visas and false documents, hiding in vehicles on ferries, and swimming or scaling the fences of the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco.

While having deeper historical roots, this Trans-Saharan migration substantially increased in the 1990s in reaction to the "pan-African" immigration policies pursued by Libya combined with several civil wars and associated economic decline in West Africa, the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea), and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Sub-Saharan Africans have now overtaken North Africans as the largest category of irregular migrants intercepted by European border guards. In 2000, Moroccans arrested 3000 West Africans, while 4000 Sub-Saharan Africans were also arrested in Algeria (ECOWAS-SWAC, 2006).
Morocco: There are distinct patterns of spatial clustering and specialization in migration, resulting in a concentration of migration from particular sending regions within Morocco towards specific countries, regions and even cities within Europe (cf. Ben Ali 1996:348 as quoted in De Haas 2005). Once established, such patterns tend to be reproduced and reinforced by the internal dynamics of migrant networks. The provinces with the highest international migration rates are Agadir (Sous), Ouarzazate and the northern provinces of Al Hoceima, Nador and, to a lesser degree, Oujda (Refass 1990:228 as quoted in De Haas 2005). From this, it is possible to distinguish three principal Moroccan migration belts: the eastern part of the Rif’s mountain area, the southwestern Sous region and the oases located southeast of the High Atlas, mainly Dadès, Todgha, Ferkla.

Although migration rates have been highest in these rural areas, many migrants have also migrated from cities, although many of them were born in rural areas. The city either in Algeria (Oran, Algiers) or Morocco (Nador, Agadir, Casablanca, Rabat) was the first stage in their migration careers, a point from where they “leapfrogged” to Europe. Nowhere else in Morocco does migration seem to be so rooted in social life as in the eastern Rif Mountains (Bonnet and Bossard 1973:15; Fadloullah et al. 2000:51 all quoted in De Haas 2005).

In the late 1930s, the number of Moroccan migrants to Algeria was estimated at about 85,000 each year, of whom 55,000 originated from the eastern Rif (Obdeijn 1993 as quoted in De Haas 2005). In 1950 about one third of the male adults in the region of Nador participated in this migration (Fadloullah et al. 2000:51as quoted in De Haas 2005). Besides, the proximity of Algeria, the preponderance of migration to that country can be explained by the fact that the Rif fell under the Spanish protectorate. This limited the opportunities for internal migration to the large cities in French Morocco, from which the Rif was isolated in terms of poor road and other infrastructural connections. From the late 1950s, the Rif entered a period of deep economic crisis. This coincided with a rebellion of the Berber region against the Moroccan “Arabic” state in 1958-1959.

After the closure of the Moroccan-Algerian border in 1962 following political and military tensions between the two countries, new migration destinations were explored in northwest Europe (De Mas 1991 as quoted in De Haas 2005). Because most of the Rif’s area fell under the Spanish protectorate, migration to Europe from this region has exhibited a very distinct pattern from that of “French” Morocco. As most Riffians did not speak French and had little knowledge of France, migration from the Rif has been relatively concentrated on the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Sweden and, from the 1980s, Spain (cf. De Mas 1990; López García 1999 quoted in De Haas 2005).

The case of the Rif exemplifies how colonization had a major influence in establishing initial migration itineraries. The southwestern Sous region also has a strong tradition of out-migration
going back to precolonial times. Besides Riffians, Soussi also migrated to Algeria from the 19th century. Since early colonial times, Soussi have migrated as labour migrants and soldiers to France. Migration from the Sous has remained overwhelmingly oriented towards its former colonizer. Far more than the Riffians, Soussi have migrated internally and, more than any other ethnic group within Morocco, they have spread out over virtually the entire country. Known for their entrepreneurship, strong work ethic and trans-regional and transnational solidarity, Berbers from the Sous have come to dominate retail trade in the majority of Moroccan towns (cf. Fadloullah et al. 2000:51 as quoted in De Haas, 2005).

Adepoju (2006) points out those irregular migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa head to Spain by avoiding the Ceuta and Melilla which are in Morocco entry points and the Strait of Gibraltar, where security has been tightened in recent times. Instead they opt for the Rabat–Agadir–Western Sahara–Fuerteventura route through Canary Islands. From Fuerteventura, these migrants make their way to other islands in the Canaries and/or travel directly to the Spanish mainland. Other routes from West African capitals crisscross Agadez–Dirkou–Al Quatrunt–Tripoli–Lampedusa–Malta, or pass through Gaya–Agadez–Djanet–Ghat–Benghazi–Zuwarah to Italy. Alternatively, immigrants converge in Ouagadougou. Similarly, in 2005 the port town of Nouadhibou in North Mauritania had 10,000 West Africans who wished to immigrate to Europe, representing 10 per cent of its population. Once in Morocco, they often attempt to enter the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla by scaling the tall border fences separating these enclaves from Morocco.

Tunisia: Initially most West African migrants made the Trans Saharan crossing in order to work in Libya. The presence of Sub SSA migrants in Tunisia and Morocco remained largely limited to relatively small number of students, traders, professional workers and some refugees from DRC, Liberia and Sierra Leon. However, since 1990s there has been marked increase in migration to Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from SSA countries.

C. Country policies on migration

The transit countries of Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria are currently faced with significant numbers of migrants from SSA, estimated at about 100,000 people a year. These people pass through these countries while heading for Europe or, alternatively, try to stay in these countries while waiting for an opportunity to cross the Mediterranean. It is though this process that there are currently roughly 100,000 in Mauritania and Algeria, with slightly fewer in Tunisia and Morocco.

While having deeper historical roots, this Trans-Saharan migration substantially increased in the 1990s in reaction to the "pan-African" immigration policies pursued by Libya combined with several civil wars and associated economic decline in West Africa, the Horn of Africa (Somalia,
Ethiopia, and Eritrea), and the Democratic Republic of Congo. SSA has now overtaken North Africans as the largest category of irregular migrants intercepted by European border guards. In 2000 Moroccans arrested 3000 West Africans, and 4000 SSA citizens in Algeria (ECOWAS-SWAC, 2006).

In contrast to strict regulation of migration in North African countries, the SSA countries have encouraged out migration of workers in order to relieve domestic labour market from pressure. However, both regions agree on the need to curb irregular migration and sternly deal with human smuggling and trafficking. Most Sub Saharan countries are often reluctant to collaborate with the forced readmission of large number of irregular migrants. Many migrants destroy their papers to avoid expulsion while asylum seekers, minors and pregnant women often have right to residence on humanitarian grounds. Although European countries have signed readmission agreements with a growing number of African countries, the expulsions are difficult to implement in practice. As a result many apprehended migrants are eventually released after the maximum detention period with a formal expulsion order.

The mass migration from SSA to Europe has influenced the policy of European Union and member states. Since 1990s the European countries have responded to mass migration by intensifying border controls. They have also attempted to externalise border controls toward the North Africa countries by transforming them into a buffer zone to reduce migratory pressure at Europe’s southern borders (IOM, 2008). They have continued to pressurize certain North African countries to clamp down on irregular migration tightening immigration laws and to re-admit irregular Sub-Saharan migrants from Europe and expelling them from their national territories.

De Haas (2006) shows that state led efforts to increase border control and to externalize the policies on North and West African countries have had a series of unintended effects. The most notable of such effects have been violation of migrants’ rights in North Africa and Europe, professionalization of migration smuggling methods and a huge diversification of overland and maritime migration routes. Despite the fact that North African countries are trying to control the migrants from Sub Saharan African countries, their economies are in need of cheap and irregular labour. Moreover, the attempts by destination countries to convince the SSA countries to curb migration has not been taken seriously because they consider migration and remittance as source of stability and vital for development.

Algeria: As is widely acknowledged, the relative strength of Algeria’s economy, together with the country’s geographic location bridging Africa and Europe, have resulted in Algeria becoming an important transit and destination country for increasing numbers of migrants, both regular and irregular. In respect to irregular migrants, migrants and human rights groups alike recognize the efforts of Algerian authorities in identifying the origins and repatriating the remains of those who have passed away while on Algerian territory. Often intending only to pass through the country
en route to Europe, large numbers of Sub-Saharan migrants ultimately remain in Algeria, many coerced into sexual exploitation or involuntary servitude to pay off smuggling debts (Not policies – other countries missing).

**Mauretania:** In 2005, Mauritania adopted a national immigration law. Under the 2005 decree, the Ministry of Interior created the National Consultative Commission for Refugees (NCCR) through which immigrants could apply for protection. The Decree states that application for refugee status must be addressed to the Ministry of Interior or UNHCR, and applicants receive a receipt that can serve as a provisional residence permit. NCCR examines requests and gives an opinion to the Minister of Interior who makes a decision whether to grant refugee status.

The 2005 Decree stated that Mauritania can only expel refugees for security reasons, but it does not offer migrants a chance to appeal against expulsion orders. The Government cooperates with UNHCR, European Commission and Spain in returning migrants trying to reach the Canary Islands. The Government operated a migrant reception center and gave UNHCR access to returned migrants to determine their eligibility as refugees. In accordance with the agreements with the ECOWAS, the Government allowed West African migrants to remain, and deported only those caught in the act of illegally attempting to travel to the Canary Islands.

The government of Mauritania has also developed some policies on inward migration in order to encourage free movement. These policies include freedom of movement and residence, which is in line with the country’s Constitution which provides for protection of freedom of movement and residence and the right to leave the country. The provision also provides for the Right to Earn a Livelihood and declares that immigrants to Mauritania have the same right to work, health care, social security and education as nationals. This notwithstanding, most of the immigrants, work in the informal sector for lower wages, and under worse conditions than nationals. Further, they lack social security coverage. Movement restrictions also hindered their ability to work (Adepoju, 2003) and to fully exercise rights provided.

The 2005 decree also provides Public Relief and Education by offering immigrants the right to health services and education on par with nationals. Immigrants enjoy this benefit, sometimes with the assistance of the UNHCR’s paying for expenses. These benefits include free clinics for HIV/AIDS diagnoses, counseling, and treatment on par with nationals (Adepoju, 2002), an aspect which is often a major challenge to immigrants.

**Senegal:** The transformation of Senegal from a country of immigration to one of emigration has led to the Senegalese government initiating actions to improve the social situation of Senegalese migrants, ranging from their protection in host countries to their reintegration at home with the objective of reversing the exodus of Senegalese (Hjalmarsson and Hogberg, 2008). The emigration Ministry was first established in 1983 and the Ministry for the Senegalese Abroad,
MSE (Ministère des Sénégalais de l’Extérieur) in 2003. These initiatives were aimed at providing for equal treatment of all Senegalese citizens regardless of whether they live in the country or outside the country’s boarders (Hjalmarsson and Hogberg, 2008).

To manage the issue of migration better, the Senegalese government developed the principle official document on international migration, “La lettre Politique Sectorielle des Sénégalais de l’Extérieur”, which deals with migration in general and all other related aspects of migration. The aim of the policy is to provide equal rights to all Senegalese irrespective of where they are and to open up opportunities back at home to reverse the trend of migration. Diatta and Mbow (1999), however note that despite the mechanisms set by Senegal to ensure regular remittance of savings by its migrant population, their skills have been put to little use. But this is expected to change since the Senegalese government has come up with a programme aimed encouraging Senegalese working abroad to become more actively involved in economic and social development of their country. Also established is the High Council for Senegalese Resident Abroad (le Conseil Supérieur des Sénégalais de l’Extérieur – CSSE) and preference given to the concept of “participation” by Senegalese Resident Abroad in the national effort to promote economic advancement (Hjalmarsson and Hogberg, 2008).

Tunisia: Several European Union countries have reacted to increasing immigration from SSA by attempting to externalize border controls. They usually do so by putting pressure on the North African countries to clamp down on irregular migration and to sign readmission agreements in exchange for development aid, financial assistance for border controls, military equipment and limited numbers of temporary work permits to immigrants. In this regard, Tunisia in 2003 and 2004 passed new immigration laws that institute severe punishments for irregular immigration and human smuggling. Recently, Tunisia has also made greater efforts to reduce the growing number of irregular migrants on its territory by imposing stricter conditions of admission. As a result of the harsher measures Tunisia tends to be seen by migrant workers more as a transit than residence option (Saadi, 2005).

**D. Source countries of migrants using respective countries as transit zones**

Migrants to the case study countries come from an increasingly diverse array of countries and regions, such as Senegal, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria as well as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Sudan, the Horn of Africa, and from the Asian continent. According to different estimates, between 65,000 and 120,000 Sub-Saharan Africans enter the Maghreb countries yearly, of which 70 to 80 per cent are believed to migrate through Libya and 20 to 30 per cent through Algeria and Morocco.
Although there are several migration routes, in recent times, majority of overland migrants enter North Africa from Agadez in Niger, which is located on a historical crossroad of trade routes that now extend deep into West and Central Africa. It is important to note that recently, migrants from China, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have also started to migrate to the North Africa via Sahara routes. They largely fly from Asia to West African capitals, via the Gulf routes, from there they follow the common Trans Saharan trade routes via Niger and Algeria to Morocco. Others enter North Africa through Egypt to Libya and cross to Italy and Malta. On the western edge of the continent, and in a likely response to increased border controls and internal policing in the Mediterranean and North Africa, there has been a recent increase in migrants avoiding the trans-Saharan crossing to the Maghreb altogether by sailing directly from the Mauritanian, Cape Verdean, Senegalese, and other West African coasts to the Canary Islands on traditional wooden fishing canoes (*pirogues*) (Oumar Ba and Choplin, 2005). Duvell (2008) emphasizes this by noting that migrants no longer depart from the Moroccan Mediterranean region but instead set forth from Mauritania’s and Senegal’s Atlantic coasts.

**Morocco:** Since the early 1990s, Morocco has increasingly developed into a transit migration country for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa to Spain and further into other countries of Europe. Most transit migrants, who originate from countries as diverse as Senegal, the Gambia, Mali, Congo, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Cameroon and Côte d’Ivoire travel through the Sahara via Algeria and enter Morocco at the border east of Oujda. Although the destination of these migrants is usually Tangiers, where they wait to cross the Strait of Gibraltar, an increasing number of migrants who fail to enter Europe prefer to settle in Morocco as a second best option rather than return to their comparatively poorer and politically more unstable home countries. They subsequently settle down in cities like Tangiers, Casablanca and Rabat on a semi-permanent basis, where they sometimes find jobs in the service sector, petty trade and construction. Others try to pursue studies in Morocco (Barros et al. 2002).

Most of the migrants do odd jobs in Casablanca, Tangiers and Rabat simply to survive – in spite of the xenophobia and aggression from both Moroccan and Spanish border authorities. Between January and September 2004, Morocco received 1,860 irregular migrants from Mali, 1,094 from Gambia, 332 from Guinea, 226 from Côte d’Ivoire, 220 from Ghana, 173 from Liberia, 171 from Mauritania, 163 from Nigeria and 158 from Guinea Bissau. These migrants were apprehended in Spanish territorial waters, while seeking to enter EU territory. During the same period, 429 Moroccans were apprehended in Melilla and 681, in Ceuta (European Commission, 2005; Adepoju 2006).

**Senegal:** Based on the map of migration routes provided by Schapendonk and Moppes (2007), most transit migrants in Senegal seem to originate from SSA (mainly Central Africa), West Africa, and from the North African region, which may mainly include transit migrants who have faced difficulties in crossing the Mediterranean due to European border protection procedures.
But this might also change as noted by Schapendonk and Moppes (2007). The EU has extended her border protection to the coast of Senegal although it does not yet fully cover the area and as a result the migration departure areas have shifted more southwards to the coastline of the Gambia and Guinea Conakry.

V. Bilateral agreements on migration between the North and West African countries and other African countries

Binding agreements are relevant for facilitating migration processes. This requires formalizing each side’s commitment to ensure that migration takes place in accordance with agreed principles and procedures. This has potential of ensuring an orderly migration process governing the following areas; competent authority; cooperation agencies; exchange of country information; vacancy notification; recruitment and selection process; pre-departures services; health assessment; entry documents; residence and work permits; transport; employment contract; terms of conditions of employment; employee grievances and dispute settlement; collective bargaining and association; social security; remittances; accommodation; family reunification; irregular migrants; welfare and religious organizations; joint commission; modifications, validity and renewal; jurisdiction (http://www.colomboprocess.org).

The establishment of the Community of Saharan-Sahelian States (CEN-SAD), ECOWAS, and various other bilateral agreements has helped to improve relations between and among countries. CEN-SAD which was established in 1998 by six countries has improved relations with sub-Saharan Africa. Since its establishment, its membership has increased to 28. One of its main goals is to achieve economic unity through the implementation of the free movement of people and goods in order to make the area occupied by member states a free trade area. At the international level, CEN-SAD gained observer status at the UN General Assembly in 2001 and concluded association and cooperation accords with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) as well as with UN specialized agencies and institutions such as UNDP, WHO, UNESCO, FAO, and the Permanent Interstate Committee for drought control in the Sahel (De Haas, 2008).

Bilateral and multilateral agreement between countries that send and receive migrants aims to address the issue of depleting SSA of its scarce skilled-manpower resources. It is important that residency laws of wealthy countries be made flexible, to give skilled professionals an opportunity to relocate without losing their residence rights in those countries. The bilateral agreements between the West and the North Africa have been few except for ECOWAS and Maghreb countries. ECOWAS’s Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment of May 29, 1979 is explicit on the free mobility of labour. The rights of entry, residence and establishment were to be progressively established within fifteen
years from the date the protocol came into force. Articles of the Protocol also include provisions in favour of equal treatment and against “collective and arbitrary expulsion” and call for full recognition of the fundamental human rights of all migrants regardless of status (Addy, 2005). Due to the challenges faced by countries and migrants, a number of countries have also come up with bilateral agreements to address migration challenges with a view to controlling illegal migrations, protection of citizens abroad and to ensure that labour migration is supported where possible. Bilateral agreements are normally meant to formalize partner countries’ commitment to ensure that migration takes place in accordance with agreed principles and procedures. Thus, other than just ensuring co-operation among countries, they ensure protection of migrants while at the same time managing irregular migration.

There are bilateral agreements between North African countries and southern European countries and North and Sub Saharan African countries. Three bilateral agreements have been signed between Algeria and Tunisia, Morocco and Tunisia and Tunisia and Libya. In these three bilateral agreements the right to employment of the citizens of the signing countries is guaranteed. It is only in the agreement between Tunisia and Morocco that the right to employment is granted in the same way to the nationals of respective countries, and with the same rights and obligation. By contrast, the agreement between Tunisia and Libya and Tunisia and Algeria is silent on the principle of equality of treatment with nationals. However, these agreements are not always applied in and the free circulation of persons and particularly of workers is not yet effective in a number of countries of the Maghreb Union.

Spain also signed agreements on immigration with Mauritania in 2003 and Nigeria in 2001. These agreements tend to focus on entry control and repatriation but emphasis should also be placed on the reintegration of migrants on return. In all bilateral agreements and cooperation in coastal areas and along land borders aimed at curtailing and controlling irregular migration and readmission of repatriated immigrants, remain the dominant strategy between European countries bordering the Mediterranean and the Maghreb countries of migrant transit and origin (Adepoju, 2006).

In order to face the challenges of reducing poverty and generating employment opportunities for the growing number of entrants into the labour force, countries cannot rely on their own forces alone. They need to deepen integration into the world economy and to become attractive destinations for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as a means of receiving the resources for development they cannot generate on their own. For this reason, bilateral agreements have become very crucial for facilitating trade among Nations.

M&D (2008) argue that bilateral agreements between sending and receiving countries can potentially ensure more orderly temporary labour migration by attempting to make it a formalized process. In general, such agreements should eliminate some of the exploitative
practices which accompany informal migration and make it easier to promote labour migrants’ rights. Where such agreements stipulate the number of labour migrants allowed to enter host countries, they should also have the advantage of making migration figures more predictable. This can also benefit host countries, by ensuring businesses a known supply of overseas labour. Below situation the situation in the case study countries is provided using examples from Mauritania, Morocco and Senegal.

**Mauritania:** The government of Mauritania has instituted some best practices on the management of the inward migration, which include an integrated and comprehensive approach to migration management policy development and implementation. This involves all partners engaged in the migration policy regimes especially government sector (Ministries of Labour, Trade, Home Affairs, Integration, Trade, Foreign Affairs, Justice), private sector, civil society and trade unions, as well as close collaboration between and among these divergent constituencies, with often conflicting interests.

The government has also developed a comprehensive policy framework to take into account direct and indirect impacts of sectoral policies on trade, investment, employment and health. Further, there is collection of up-to-date information on migration across borders, as well as capacity building at the national and sub-regional levels. Capacity building of immigration officials, functioning as border control and security officials is most critical and urgent. The government aims at transforming their role to that of migration management facilitating rather than restricting migrations in regular situations and in the context of the sub-regional integration agenda.

**Morocco:** M&D (2008) indicates that a 2004 Migration DRC study of bilateral agreements on labour migration that have been negotiated by Morocco, with a range of other countries, points to some of the difficulties states face in formulating such agreements. Morocco functions primarily as sending country, and has significant pool of ‘surplus labour’ and a need for overseas remittances. Although Morocco has signed diplomatic agreements regarding labour migration with a number of host countries, these agreements have often been based on private understandings which are not made public. This is partly because more formalized agreements on migration might risk a political backlash in host countries. Furthermore, Migration DRC study revealed that some government officials in Morocco were hesitant about pursuing more formalised agreements on labour migration, fearing that such agreements might have unwanted consequence of making migration a more attractive option for skilled professionals.

Adepoju (2006) observes that in mid October 2005, the Moroccan government, which has deportation agreements with Senegal and Mali began transporting nationals of Mali and Senegal home. Between November 2004 and March 2005, Morocco chartered five planes to deport African refugees to Nigeria, and new measures were proposed to increase penalties for those
who try to enter, or leave, the country illegally. The over 500 Senegalese who had arrived in the
capital, Dakar, and about half of the 630 Malian expellees arriving in the capital, Bamako,
complained of the high-handedness of the Moroccan law enforcement agencies (irinnews.org,
2005). The local NGOs in the Dakar and Bamako were so appalled by the report of maltreatment
of their deported compatriots that they urged their national authorities to refer Morocco to the

Nigeria and Morocco came to an agreement to offer free flights to Nigerians who were
summarily deported rather than dumping them in the desert region of the Algerian border. By the
end of 2004, about 1,460 Nigerians, including 200 women and 50 young children, had been
 flown home. The incident was portrayed as voluntary repatriation but in reality, it took the form
of forced evacuations, and many migrants complained bitterly of harassment, and blatant abuse
of their rights. The official reaction of the Nigerian authorities expressed the hope that the
repatriations would dissuade other citizens from planning to follow the path of those repatriated
(Byrne, 2004; Adepoju 2006).

**Senegal**: The country has a few bilateral agreements with other countries aimed at regulating the
protection of the Senegalese abroad. The agreements go as far as promoting backward migration
by establishing rights for migrants if they return to their country of origin (Hjalmarsson and
Hogberg, 2008). The MSE/DSE also requires Senegalese abroad to maintain contacts with the
country by encouraging the acquisition of property and facilitating for the emigrants to take part
in the political life in Senegal even when they reside abroad, for the purpose of making them or
their resources benefit the country when they return.

One of the countries with which Senegal has bilateral agreements is Spain, aimed at promoting
legal migration to Spain in an attempt to stem an illegal influx. The agreement is aimed at
discouraging illegal migration and to give Spain the opportunity to recruit a significant number
of workers (British Broadcasting Corporation). Senegal has also signed an agreement with
France that provides for families of Senegalese workers in France to receive benefits under
French social safety net provisions under the Caisse des Allocations Familiales (Ammarrasi 2005
as cited by Shaw 2007). An agreement with Gabon in 1987 also aimed at securing social security
benefits for children of Senegalese workers (Diatta and Mbow 1999 as cited by Shaw 2007).
Agreements have also been signed on economic group basis to facilitate the free movement of
economic grouping residents within partner countries. For instance, ECOWAS in which Senegal
is a member country, the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and
Establishment of May 1979 was explicit on free mobility of labour (Adepoju, 2002). Phase one
of the protocol, guaranteeing free entry of Community citizens without visas for 90 days, was
ratified by Member States in 1980 while the second phase on Right of Residence, came into
force in July 1986. The ECOWAS Treaty was revised in 1992 and has other provisions,
including: the right of citizens of the Community to entry, residence, and settlement and enjoined
member states to recognize these rights in their respective territories. This provision has faced challenges as Community citizens have been expelled by some member states (Adepoju 2002). So far, all ECOWAS member states have eliminated visas and entry permits for community citizens and entry to a member state requires only a national identity card or a passport (*West Africa Observer*, April – June 2009).

An agreement on the free circulation of people was also signed in 1978 under the Communauté Économique de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (CEAO) which grouped Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal, with Togo in observer status (Zlotnik, 2003). The purpose of these agreements is mainly to protect and improve the welfare of the citizens by providing for specific rights and benefits ranging from social protection to access to employment opportunities. The agreements have resulted in a high level of intra-regional mobility with approximately 3 per cent of West Africans living in a country in which they do not have nationality while within the EU, it is about 0.5 per cent (*West Africa Observer*, April – June 2009).

VI. Good practices on management of inward migration

The management of labour migration has drawn a lot of attention in recent years because of the growth of clandestine or irregular movements on the one hand, and the perceived benefits of remittances for source countries on the other. Although the subject remains controversial a slow but definite consensus is emerging on the need for a regulated liberalization of movements of workers in order to meet shortages in the labour market. A basic principle in this consensus is the ‘preferential access” of nationals to jobs, thus treating admission of foreign workers as a means to deal with any residual demand (Ruhs, 2005). There is also consensus that foreign workers are entitled to equal treatment with national workers (ILO 2004). The following paragraphs reviews some of the lessons drawn from experience with the management of labour migration and draws attention to what may loosely be considered as “best practice” in policies and programmes.

A. Good practices

Migration management is a complex process that goes beyond punitive and control measures. Hence, policy makers need to appreciate the fact that human mobility is an inherent, desirable component of the development process and that many prosperous countries and communities historically were built on migrant labour. The recent political and economic history of West African countries highlights the fluidity of transition between immigration and emigration configurations and dynamics. The best practises in the management of migration imply making migration conducive for migrants, countries of origin and destination. A rational inward
migration management must balance the interests and needs of countries of origin, transit and destination as well as the aspirations of the migrants.

Migration is an inevitable component of development and ways have to be established to effectively manage it, which has to be both from the migrant sending and migrant receiving countries. Migration policies must address issues that promote respect for human rights for the migrants, including the right to affordable and accessible health services and healthy working and living conditions. A framework should also be developed to ensure successful integration of the migrants into the society while recognizing and respecting their diversity and cultural backgrounds. This therefore means that the management of inward migration by migrant receiving countries should go beyond the legal process of registration of immigrants to provide some social protection. In spite of this, adequate control also needs to be put in place to address “illegal” migration and establish a process of dealing with such category.

An example of a country that has tried to effectively manage migration issues is Portugal. Given the importance of migrant labour in Portugal, the government implemented several measures with the aim of increasing integration of immigrants into the labour market in line with recommendations of the European Commission (CE no. 741/2004 of the Council). These actions include:

- Providing for security of employment and workers’ rights for immigrants by enshrining immigrants’ working rights in the constitution;
- Including in its action Plan for Immigrant Integration measures related to employment and professional training to ensure integration of workers;
- Setting up the National Immigration Support Centres (Centros Nacionais de Apoio ao Imigrante - CNAI) in 2004 to provide an integrated, efficient and humane response to the integration issues of immigrants who have chosen Portugal as their host country. The National Immigrant Support Centres also runs an Employment Support Office for immigrants and supports immigrant entrepreneurship through a partnership with the National Association for the Right to Credit.

Development of laws to guard against illegal migration. Under this law, companies that employ illegal immigrants are fined and are also obliged to cover all necessary expenses for the residence and removal of the foreign citizens. Employers are also obliged to pay wages to foreign workers (legal or illegal) and make their welfare and tax contributions, failure to which a fine is imposed.

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4 This review is based on statements and comments by Oliveira 2008 where among others they note that migrants provide inexpensive labour compared to locals and constitutes about 10 per cent of the labour market though migrants represent about 5 per cent of the population.
Morocco: De Haas (2009) points out that since the 1990s, Morocco has been put under increasing pressure by EU countries to introduce more restrictive immigration policies and to increase border controls. In 2003, Morocco passed new immigration laws that institute severe punishments for participation in or assisting irregular immigration and human smuggling. According to critics, these new laws, which criminalize irregular migration, show that Morocco and Tunisia are bowing to pressure from the EU to play the role of Europe’s “police”. Although the new Moroccan law makes reference to relevant international conventions and seems to be a nominal improvement, migrants’ and refugees’ rights are often ignored in practice. Morocco is also under pressure to institute tougher immigration and visa rules for sub-Saharan Africans. Moroccan police forces have regularly conducted raids in migrant neighbourhoods and brought irregular migrants to the Algerian borders where they are left to their fate.

B. Management of migration

Managing demand for labour
Since the principal justification for admission of foreign labour is to meet an excess demand for labour, it is axiomatic that first consideration should be given to “managing” the demand for labour. As Ruhs (2005) argues in his report for the Global Commission on International Migration, managing the demand for labour is the first critical step in developing sound policies on temporary foreign workers. Employers will always have a “need” or a demand for foreign workers if by employing them they can lower their costs. If labour and migration policies make it possible, either by intent or by default, to employ foreign workers below minimum standards, then it should not be surprising to find employers clamouring for more liberal admission of foreign workers. In Algeria, the policy of liberal admission of unskilled foreign labour in the private sector has driven down real wages to about half of what they were two decades ago and created problems of unemployment for native workers who would not accept such wages.

Non-migration adjustments to labour shortage
The best practises of responding to perceived shortages of labour includes increasing the capital or technology intensity of the production process, “offshoring” or relocating to countries where labour costs are lower, increasing working hours and switching to production of less labour-intensive commodities.

Increasing the portability of qualification
The underutilization of migrant workers’ skills is a common problem especially for those temporarily admitted because it takes time to become familiar with the labour market and for workers to convince employers of their capabilities. The best practise is to allow the qualifications to go beyond boundaries. However, promoting the recognition of formal qualifications is loaded with difficulties for technical reasons and also because of opposition
from local professional groups. The European Union has perhaps done more than others to increase the portability of qualifications of EU nationals.

Combining supply and demand approaches to selecting temporary workers
The major assumption is that human capital is flexible and no barriers exist to the employment of people with skills needed in the labour market. However, it is possible that local employers may not recognize the credentials and experience of those who get admitted. Immigrants trained as doctors sometimes end up driving taxis. The approach could be strengthened by incorporating certain practices which relies on employers to say what skills are needed and to find suitable workers. The best practice may be to combine supply and demand approaches to selecting immigrants in managed programs that aim to deal with labour shortages and the problem of ageing. Under a combined approach, either individuals or employers could initiate the immigration process. Individuals could receive additional points for having a job offer from a local employer which would minimize brain drain and unemployment. Employers, on the other hand, could be required to recruit only foreigners that satisfied education, language, or other criteria to fill vacant posts (ILO, 2005).

Supervision of recruitment and contracting agencies for contract migrant workers by country of origin
In ensuring best practice, recruitment should not be allowed for certain countries where workers’ rights are not respected and there are strict rules regarding recruitment fees (not more than the equivalent of one-month wage), minimum age of the workers, and certification of skills in certain professions. On the other hand, those who meet the criteria for good performance are rewarded with various privileges, including recommendations to foreign employers, facilitation of contract approvals through electronic processing, and inclusion in government-sponsored promotional missions.

Role of trade unions in protecting migrant workers’ rights
Trade unions have been known to oppose the admission of foreign workers because of conflict of interest with their members but this attitude has changed significantly in recent years. Currently, many trade unions in destination countries are very actively involved in advocating sound immigration programmes which protect migrant workers’ rights. The General Union of Algerian Workers, for example, called on unions in other Maghreb countries to campaign for the ratification of UN Convention 97 on migrant workers, which Algeria ratified.

Apart from the above specific suggestions for managing labour migration, Adepoju (2006) provides broad options which include addressing poverty; conducting policy dialogues; developing an integrated and comprehensive approach to migration; developing a global network aimed at curtailing migrant workers traffickers and smugglers; joint action by all stakeholders in integrating migrants into host countries; promoting and strengthening relations between migrants
and their countries of origin by creating favourable conditions for migrants remittances and savings for productive use (Adepoju, 2006) as elaborated in the following bullets.

Out migration is as result of severe poverty, therefore West African countries development programmes have to be pro-poor and pro-jobs to provide livelihood for the youths. Governments from West African countries must put poverty issues at the top of the political agenda. Political stability is a precondition for peace and development; therefore, the governments must provide an enabling environment for participation of other actors in the pro-poor development process, mobilize and strengthen self help capacities and individual initiatives at the local level.

Policy dialogue is a useful mechanism for engaging all stakeholders, including policy makers, politicians, civil society, the media, and migrant associations in matters of migration management. This must be institutionalized rather than simply being organized on an ad hoc basis. It is important for these countries to engage in dialogue, train their border guards, exchange information and ameliorate the condition of irregular migrants stranded in the vast desert areas. Cooperation and capacity building would enable these and other countries of the Maghreb and ECOWAS to better manage cross border migration in regular and irregular situations.

An integrated and comprehensive approach to migration management policy development and implementation should involve all partners engaged in the migration policy arena. These include the government sector, the private sector, civil society, trade union employer’s organization and the media.

There is need to develop a global network to curtail migrant workers traffickers and smugglers. This requires the support of international organizations and governments. There is need for greater dialogue between African countries and the European Commission on migrant matters to implement the relevant provision of the Cairo Plan of Action adopted at the Africa/ European summit.

Concerted efforts should be made progressively by all stakeholders; governments and its social partners, civil society organisations, migrant community associations, the media and other relevant organisations in migrant receiving countries in ECOWAS and the Maghreb to ensure immigrants are effectively integrated into host societies. Elements of socio economic integration include efforts by stakeholder to provide equal access to opportunities, especially employment and sensitization of local population on the potential contribution and needs of migrants; educating migrants on their rights and reinforcing the sense of belonging and progressively adopting progressive citizenship policy and naturalization process.
Other measures include programmes that promote learning languages of receiving countries for migrants which are relevant for integration into the labour market; recognising and promoting efforts of migrant associations and networks to ensure that migrant communities are not isolated in poor neighborhoods.

Progressive policies to extend political rights to second and third generation migrants and promote generational integration through migrant’s children’s education, intermarriage between locals and migrants and entitlement to residency, in order to effectively integrate migrants in the social, economic and political life of the host communities.

Both sending and receiving countries should promote and strengthen relations between migrants and their countries of origin by creating favorable conditions for migrants’ remittance and savings for productive use. Assist migrants who choose to return to their home country into the economic production system, consolidate and encourage activities of migrant association to create conditions for their effective participation in decision making in matters concerning them in their home and host countries. There is need to recognize migrants associations in promoting dialogue between these associations and authorities in the host and home countries. The receiving countries of the Maghreb should take up the challenge of integrating immigrants in regular situations in order to fully realize their potentials in the spirit of African unity.

Migration data management and dissemination are important for management of migration and formulation of migration policies.

World migration (2008) suggests a regional consultative process in management of migration flows. Regional consultative process offers a structure for dialogue, exchange of information and expertise without requiring government to enter into formal commitments. This facilitates confidence building, the identification of likeminded partners and the search for common understanding and approaches. It also allows the discussion of sensitive issues in a non-confrontational manner. Adepoju also advocates for use of bilateral agreement to manage migration flows. The terms of agreement must be specialized by defining the categories of labour concerns, provide for admission criteria and the terms of migration. Bilateral agreement is also seen as a tool to promote and protect the welfare and rights of migrant workers.

**VII. Policy recommendations**

This review of inward migration has brought out a number of issues, some of which require primary research if comprehensive recommendations are to be made. This, not withstanding, tentative recommendations based on the review of literature are made. There is therefore need to:
Harmonies policies and regulations. Our review shows that countries differ in how they manage migration, with countries such as Senegal and Morocco having very enabling policies, while others remain moribund. Further, a number of countries are putting emphasis on tight control of boarders, while it is clear that globalization has brought new dynamics and people are moving across borders looking for economic opportunities.

Formulate appropriate migration policies. Respective sending countries require responsive policies dealing with employment generation, effective governance of migration processes, including putting in place conflict resolution measures, and providing adequate information on rules and regulations guiding entry, residence and employment abroad. The latter is relevant for making informed choices before migrating, and in receiving country

Harness opportunities offered by migration. Migration has been perceived differently depending on the analyst, with some seeing it as a win-win situation. However, a critical analysis of the review reveals that, the challenge remains how to harness the potential of migration for both sending and receiving countries. There is need to focus on economic, social and cultural benefits of both receiving and sending countries of origin and destination as well as migrants themselves. This requires understanding and addressing migration dynamics including the issue of who migrates, determinants of migration, status of migrants in their destinations and integration in such destinations.

Negotiate bilateral agreements across countries and regions. There is need to negotiate bilateral agreements between West, North Africa and the European receiving countries. Our review reveals inadequate legal provisions relevant for effective management of migration. This needs to be addressed given the flow of migration from West to North Africa and to European countries. Further, there is need for cooperation between governments of sending, transit and destination countries. This is more important for combating trafficking, which is made more complex due to the strict immigration policies in developed countries. Such restrictions largely fuel markets for trafficking and smuggling and irregular migrations.

Improvement of economies of sending countries. The review shows that most migrants are pushed out of their countries due to the poor economic performance. This implies that sending countries have not only to concentrate on developing bilateral agreements with receiving countries, but have to improve their economies and expand economic opportunities if they have to retain citizens within their territories, and attract additional required skills. This should include putting in place a well maintained and integrated
transportation network to facilitate the smooth movement of persons and distribution of goods and services.

- Encourage dialogue and consultations among various stakeholders to discuss common approaches to the migration concerns and interests, share ideas and enhance understanding and cooperation in migration management. Such a process could lead to the development of a coherent policy framework for the management of migration. At the national level, collaboration between and within agencies of government dealing with migration matters is essential. The key role of trade relations, especially the intended and unintended, short as well as long term effects of bilateral and multilateral trade agreements on migration is not yet evident and appreciated by many migration stakeholders and should be explicitly recognised while conducting trade negotiations.

- Strengthen the training and retraining of key officials controlling the inward migration, and research. In respect to the later, attempts should be made to undertake cooperative research and information sharing between countries of origin and destination. In the same vein, it is imperative for law enforcement authorities of recipient countries to share information on numbers and nationalities of trafficked persons, smuggling routes, and methods of interdiction with countries of origin’s agencies, and to also institutionalise operational contact between them.

- Public awareness and concerted advocacy and public education campaign should be mounted, possibly simultaneously in all countries of the sub-region in order to halt hostility against migrants and refugees amongst traditionally hospitable peoples ready to share their meagre resources with strangers. In doing so, accurate information about the positive contribution of immigrants to national development, the causes and consequences of migration at origin and destination, and the fluidity of migration dynamics, turning countries of immigration into sending and transit countries, should be emphasised.

Overall, there is urgent need for inter-state approach in policy formulation to manage migration. Such policies must have well defined objectives, and should cover the challenges which face migrants, including clarity on opportunities, exchange of experiences and best practices in respect of human trafficking, increasing irregular migration, migrant rights and brain drain.
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